How do welfare state policies shape parental employment patterns? A comparison of Great Britain, eastern and western Germany

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1 Introduction

In recent decades, welfare states have undergone a major social change which has been a result of changing behaviour in different fields. Women have acquired more education and increased their engagement in the labour market, family formation has been postponed and fertility rates have declined, the connection between childbearing and marriage has weakened, and cohabitation and lone motherhood have increased (Balbo, Billari and Mills 2013; Castles 2003; Daly and Klammer 2005; Konietzka and Kreyenfeld 2002; Sobotka 2004; Sobotka and Toulemon 2008; Vlasblom and Schippers 2004). These social and demographic changes, and the challenges that come with them, have been increasingly discussed in research and in the public arena during the past decade. Population ageing due to low fertility rates and an increasing life expectancy have led to concerns about the decline in the workforce, growing dependency ratios and decreasing economic growth (Bloom et al. 2010; Coleman 2006; Demeny 2003; Hantrais 1999; McDonald and Kippen 2001; United Nations 2010). Apart from suggesting that fertility levels be increased or that immigration be regarded as a solution for an ageing population, policy advisers have mainly recommended an expansion of the workforce by increasing the retirement age and women's employment (Börsch-Supan 2003; Burniaux, Duval and Jaumotte. 2004; McDonald and Kippen 2001). Policies that support the reconciliation of family and work have been regarded as a key to enabling parenthood, particularly motherhood, and paid work (Brewster and Rindfuss 2000; Esping-Andersen 1999; Gornick and Meyers 2008; Leitner and Wroblewski 2006).

Sustaining growth by increasing employment participation among all groups, particularly women, is also the objective of the European Employment Strategy (EES), which was initiated in 1997 (Palpant

2006).[1] The Lisbon Council held in 2000 quantified a female employment rate of "more than 60% by 2010" (European Parliament 2000: 21). The Europe 2020 strategy, which was enacted in 2010 and was strongly influenced by the economic crisis, stressed the importance of women's employment to alleviate poverty (Copeland and Daly 2012; European Commission 2010).

It has been argued that the best means of achieving a higher level of labour market participation in Europe is a policy shift towards an adult worker model—i.e., towards a welfare state in which all adults are assumed to engage in the labour market—at the European level, as well as at the national social policy levels of the United Kingdom and Germany (Annesley 2003, 2007; Lewis 2001; León 2009).

[1] The European Employment Strategy (EES) is based on earlier attempts of the European Union to deal with employment issues in a European context (for an overview of these attempts see Goetschy 1999). The EES was introduced at the summit in Luxembourg in 1997 and aimed at providing coordinated guidelines for the national employment policies. The four pillars of the EES were employability, entrepreneurship, adaptability of enterprises and employees as well as equal opportunities for men and women (Palpant 2006: 1). At the Lisbon Council in March 2000, it was decided to use a "new open method of coordination as the means of spreading best practice and achieving greater convergence towards the main EU goals" (European Parliament 2000). A "new strategic goal" until 2010 has been "to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion". (European Parliament 2000: 12). The Council stated that the employment rate is too low and that older workers and women only participate insufficiently in the labour market. Thus, an increase in the overall employment rate to 70 % was set as a goal and a rise of the female employment rate in particular (European Parliament 2000: 21). The Barcelona European Council held in 2002 set specific targets regarding the provision of childcare. It was recommended, that by 2010, childcare should be provided for 90 % of children between age 3 and school age, and for at least 33 % of children under age 3 (European Council 2002: 12). This was again emphasised in the revision of the EES in 2003 which also put a higher emphasis on the shrinking workforce as a consequence of population ageing and how to cope with it (European Commission 2003). Additionally, targets where quantified more specifically (European Commission 2003: 20ff.). Many of the countries had not met the targets by 2010.

Motivation – How do welfare state policies shape mothers' and fathers' employment behaviour?

In many discussions on gender equality, female employment rates are cited to show an increase in women's labour force participation in recent decades. However, scholars have often stressed that it is particularly important to focus on women with children, as their employment behaviour provides a better indicator of the extent to which employment and family life can be combined (Esping-Andersen 2009: 21).

Welfare state research has contributed comprehensively to the discussion on how female, and particularly maternal employment, is influenced by institutional regulations in different welfare regimes (Del Boca and Wetzels 2007; Esping-Andersen 1990, 1999). The prevailing view in welfare state research is that, in addition to the need to include as many people as possible in the labour force, the integration of women into paid employment has also become more and more a question of gender equality (Esping-Andersen 2009; León 2009). Yet the focus of reconciliation strategies has usually been on women, while men have been neglected in this discussion. As in the public discussion, research on the "work-family balance" has usually concentrated on women's employment behaviour. Many studies have examined women's work interruptions or reductions in working hours after childbearing, and the consequences of these changes in behaviour (Aisenbrey, Evertsson and Grunow 2009; Budig, Misra and Boeckmann 2012; Gangl and Ziefle 2009; McGinnity and McManus 2007; Misra, Budig and Moller 2007; Sigle-Rushton and Waldfogel 2007). In contrast, men's employment behaviour has not been as intensively investigated. One reason for this is that fathers' employment behaviour is much less negatively or is sometimes not at all affected by the birth of a child in the family, as is the case for women (Kühhirt 2012; Pollmann-Schult and Diewald 2007). Only recently, fathers' employment behaviour after family formation and their contribution to caring

have attracted the attention of researchers. However, we can assume a "centrality of men's behaviour" (Esping-Andersen 2009: 19) in the changing roles of women, the division of labour and family formation.

Why is a comparison of Great Britain, eastern Germany and western Germany useful?

Comparative welfare state studies have regarded Great Britain and Germany as countries representing two distinct European welfare state models, with Germany being labelled as conservative and the British welfare state as liberal (Esping-Andersen 1990, 1999). At the same time, both welfare regimes have as well been classified as "strong male breadwinner states" (Lewis 1992; Lewis and Ostner 1994; Ostner 1993).

Like many other welfare states, Germany and Great Britain face the challenges of changes in society and their consequences (Clasen 2005; Esping-Andersen 2002). A comparison of Germany, the country with the biggest population in Europe, with Great Britain, the third-largest European country, is very interesting due to several reasons. *First*, they have experienced similar demographic changes, such as an increase in the age of childbearing and in non-marital births, although the levels of the share of children born to unmarried mothers vary considerably between the two parts of Germany and Great Britain. Germany as well as Britain have seen a rise in non-marital unions and lone parenthood. However, the share varies greatly between the two parts of Germany and Britain. Like all other European countries, these countries have seen a decline of their total fertility rate; however, Great Britain has a much higher birth rate than eastern and western Germany. *Second*, female employment has increased in both western Germany and Great Britain, while employment rates declined in eastern Germany after reunification in 1990. However, working hours still vary considerably. While in Great Britain and western Germany the

increase in women's employment has been mainly due to an increase in part-time employment, in eastern Germany full-time employment rates are still much higher. *Third*, both countries vary in the extent to which mothers of different partnership statuses participate in the labour market, with Great Britain long having had one of the lowest employment rates among lone mothers, and western Germany lagging behind in married mothers' employment participation. *Fourth*, both Germany and Great Britain have been labelled male breadwinner states, and have been described as hampering women's employment. However, the underlying mechanisms rooted in the welfare state ideologies and cultures were different. Whereas in western Germany the traditional[2] housewife model was actively promoted by a long parental leave and a tax system that favours the one earner model, Great Britain was rather a "residual" welfare state without an active family policy, which meant that women's employment was hampered by a lack of work-family-balance policies. By adding eastern Germany to the comparison, we can better examine whether policies matter, but also to what extent, and what role culture plays, since female labour market behaviour still differs between the two parts of Germany, even though the institutional regulations have been the same since 1990, with the exception of childcare. *Fifth*, there are important differences between the labour market structure in the two countries. In terms of dismissal protection and the frequency of temporary work contracts, Germany can be regarded as a much more highly regulated labour market than Great Britain. However, regulation is much higher in western than in eastern Germany. Furthermore, an eastern-western German comparison is worthwhile, since there are still many differences between these two parts of a single country due to the fact that the GDR and the FRG represented two completely different systems with respect to political organisation, the organisation of the economy,

[2] I use the term "traditional" although I am aware that the full realisation of the male breadwinner model was only limited to the period between WW II and the early 1970s (Orloff 2009: 325).

the inclusion of women into the labour market, etc. (for an overview, see Krause and Ostner 2010). Moreover, a comparison of the two parts of Germany is also valuable due to the fact that welfare state approaches have not sufficiently incorporated eastern Germany or post-socialist societies in general into their classification of welfare regimes (Aidukaite 2009). Additionally, eastern Germany also represents a very specific case among the post-socialist societies, as all of the West German institutional regulations and laws were introduced there when it was unified with West Germany in 1990.

Germany and Great Britain have in common that fathers' participation in childcare has been neglected at the policy level as well as in family research. The reconciliation of family and work has always been treated as a "female" topic in politics.

In the United Kingdom, liberal and residual social programmes with a focus on poverty alleviation have dominated. Furthermore, the British labour market has been flexible and deregulated to a large extent, and in general there is a "strong reliance on market coordination" (Clasen 2005: 2). In contrast, the western German welfare state (which is generally the focus when Germany is discussed) has been characterised by earnings-related social insurance transfers for the purposes of status protection, a higher degree of labour market regulation and corporatist negotiations (Clasen 2005: 2). However, both countries have undergone radical welfare state restructuring (Clasen 2005) and have shifted towards more activating welfare measures over the past decade, with the German welfare state having moved in this direction later than the British. The social democratic governments that were elected in both countries (the British New Labour in May 1997 and the German Red-Green coalition in 1998) initiated far-reaching reforms of the social security and the labour market policy systems. In 1999, the British prime minister Tony Blair and the German chancellor Gerhard Schröder published a paper on their visions regarding the

economy, the reform of the social systems and labour market flexibilisation, proposing a "Third Way", or a "Neue Mitte" (New Centre) for Germany (Blair and Schröder 1999). Their ideas on restructuring the welfare state were realised in New Labour's welfare reform and in the Red-Green coalition government's *Agenda 2010*.

With regard to the welfare state restructuring, some researchers have increasingly discussed the diffusion of an adult worker model (Daly 2011; Lewis 2001; 2006; Lewis and Campbell 2008; Lewis, Campbell and Huerta, 2008; Lewis and Giullari 2005), meaning the inclusion of all adults who are able to work in the labour market.

Aim of the dissertation

The aim of this dissertation is twofold. First, I will examine to what extent the changing British and Germany social policies represent a shift away from the male breadwinner model towards an adult worker model on the policy level.

In the empirical part of this study, the focus will be on the question to what extent these policy changes have also translated into a shift in employment behaviour among men and women with children, and whether various groups of the population have been affected differently, and have responded in different ways.

The empirical analyses concentrate mainly on two aspects. First, I investigate the determinants of maternal employment with a focus on the role of partnership status, education and partner's characteristics, and the question how changing policies have influenced different groups of mothers. While education has been shown to be a key determinant in all studies on maternal employment, the role of a woman's partnership status has been investigated in less detail in previous studies, often due to limitations in the number of cases in social survey data. By pooling four data sets each for Great Britain and for

Germany, I have sought to overcome these limitations. This approach allows me to analyse in greater depth how married mothers differ from those in non-marital unions and from lone mothers. In addition, lone mothers are also distinguished by whether they are never-married, divorced, widowed or separated.

The different treatment of mothers in the different welfare state settings depending on their partnership status, and how this affects their behaviour in the labour market, are issues worth investigating given that the numbers of lone and cohabiting mothers have been increasing in Great Britain and Germany in recent decades. Lone mothers have been treated very differently in the different welfare regimes. In Britain, lone mothers became a policy concern in the 1980s and 1990s due to their low labour market attachment (Kiernan, Land and Lewis 1998 1998). This fact has made them a specific target for welfare-to-work policies after New Labour came into office in 1997. In West German social policy, however, this group had not been on the agenda, due to the fact that they did not have lower employment rates than mothers with partners, and for several other reasons (Ostner 1997). Because of their dual role as carers and breadwinners, it has been argued that lone mothers represent a "border case" (Lewis and Hobson 1997: 2) for welfare state policies with regard to the recognition of unpaid labour, the combination of paid and unpaid work, and the question of to what extent the state should assume responsibility for families (Lewis and Hobson 1997). Therefore, my aim in this dissertation is to investigate whether different groups of mothers have been treated as carers or as workers by British and German social policies, and how these characterisations have influenced their employment behaviour, particularly in light of recent policy reforms.

In a second analysis, I investigate the determinants of fathers' use of parental leave in Germany with regard to the question whether the re-

form of the parental leave benefit and the introduction of "daddy months" have changed fathers' behaviour.

I focus on fathers' as well as mothers' employment because men have been ignored in research and in the policy discussion on reconciliation strategies. To extend the research on employment and work-family-balance policies in welfare states, it is important to include men, since it can be assumed that the employment decisions of mothers and fathers are interdependent. Welfare states have regarded fathers mainly as breadwinners and less as carers, which has been reflected in social policies, such as the regulations regarding maternity and parental leave, which either granted fathers no right to care (the United Kingdom until 1999), or, as was the case in Germany until 2006, provided only limited financial compensation, which in practice prevented fathers from using parental leave. The question that arises is how the German parental leave benefit reform of 2007 changed fathers' leave-taking behaviour, and whether the effect differed among different groups of fathers.

In both parts of the analyses, I will concentrate on the period of the 1990s to the late 2000s, when in both Germany and Great Britain more and more policies were introduced that shifted these welfare states away from male breadwinner regimes towards adult worker models. I will investigate whether—and, if so, to what extent— this model can be found in the two countries between the 1990s and the late 2000s, and in which variations. I examine labour market and family policies and their shifts during this period, and to what extent they led to changes in parents' employment behaviour. The focus of this dissertation is clearly on how social policies shape employment, but the role of cultural norms and attitudes will be discussed as well.

Research questions

This dissertation focuses on the role of changing labour market and family policies, as well as parental leave policies on maternal and paternal employment behaviour, during the period of the late 1990s and 2000s. Two major questions shall be answered: (1) To what extent have changing welfare state policies led to a shift in the paradigm away from a male breadwinner model towards an adult worker model? (2) To what extent have changing social policies influenced mothers' and fathers' labour market behaviour?

I focus specifically on "welfare-to-work" policies in the two countries, and on how they shaped maternal employment patterns, as well as on a change in the Germany parental leave benefit, and how this specific reform influenced fathers' use of parental leave.

On the one hand, I want to answer the question of which factors determine maternal employment, with a focus on (1) a woman's partnership status, (2) her education and (3) her partner's education and employment; and how social policies, particularly the welfare-to-work and "making-work-pay-policies" in the UK and the Hartz IV reform in Germany, affected mothers' employment behaviour in general, and specific groups in particular. A second focus is on fathers' employment behaviour after childbirth in Germany, specifically their use of parental leave. The emphasis is on education and its influence on the use of leave, and particularly on the effect of the parental leave benefit reform in 2007.

Outline of the dissertation

The following chapter (*chapter 2*) presents two different theoretical approaches that can be applied in investigating parents' labour market behaviour. First, the welfare state approach and its different research lines are presented and discussed. Second, I outline the economic ap-

proach on how employment decisions are made and how social policies might set economic incentives or disincentives. *Chapter 3* provides an overview of the institutional regulations in Great Britain and in eastern and western Germany. *Chapter 4* presents aggregated data on the development of female and male labour market participation in recent decades. In *chapter 5,* descriptive analyses on trends in mothers' and fathers' labour market participation are presented. The following section (*chapter 6*) deals with the determinants of maternal employment in Great Britain and in eastern and western Germany. The focus of the analyses is on the role of a woman's education, her partnership status and the characteristics of her partner. The role of the changing policies will be depicted by the calendar year.

Chapter 7 contains analyses on fathers' use of parental leave in Germany. The focus in this section is on the role of education and workplace characteristics for men's decision to temporarily leave the labour market to care for their children. In *chapter 8,* the main findings of the study are summarised and concluding remarks are made.

I THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2 Theoretical framework of parents' employment decisions

Maternal employment behaviour has been widely discussed from a theoretical perspective within economic and sociological approaches. Early studies were mainly dominated by the economic theory of labour supply, which regards individual human capital as the most important factor in employment decisions. Later, Becker (1993) expanded this view by including the household in his "new home economics". However, proponents of bargaining approaches (Manser and Brown 1980; Lundberg and Pollak 1994, 1996) have disputed the existence of a common household utility function, as put forward by Becker, and have argued that each partner's bargaining determines couples' employment behaviour.

In contrast to the economic approaches that focus on individual human capital endowment, welfare state theory centres on the influence of welfare state settings and social policies on behaviour. Many researchers consider the welfare state approach, the most prominent proponent of which is Esping-Andersen (1990, 1999, 2002, 2009), to be a big step forward in explaining people's behaviour in different welfare regimes. The question that is still heavily discussed is the extent to which the welfare state setting shapes individual decisions. Theoretical approaches that incorporate culture into the explanation try to broaden the view by taking into account norms and attitudes prevailing in a society that shape mothers' and fathers' employment decisions (Pfau-Effinger 2004; Kremer 2007; Duncan and Edwards 1997).

My aim in the following chapter is to discuss these theoretical approaches and their contribution to explaining mothers' and fathers' employment behaviours in Great Britain and in eastern and western Germany. I start by reviewing approaches that attribute individual

employment decisions to the influence of the welfare state (section 2.1). In section 2.2., I will integrate welfare state constraints into the economic approaches on employment decisions.

2.1 The welfare state's influence on employment decisions

During the last two decades, many researchers have investigated the mechanisms within the welfare state, and how they shape people's behaviour. Comparative welfare state research has been widely used for analysing the mechanisms through which welfare regimes affect people's decisions in various areas of life. The links between welfare states and fertility behaviour, partnership formation behaviour, labour market participation and retirement decisions have been studied (Del Boca and Wetzels 2007; Fasang 2012). The influence of welfare states on women's employment behaviour has also been widely discussed. So far, however, relatively few researchers have focused on fathers' employment. Furthermore, the extent to which welfare states shape individual employment behaviour is a question that continues to be heavily debated. With regard to the German case, a drawback of welfare state approaches has been that they have not sufficiently incorporated eastern Germany into their classifications. An analysis of the "German" welfare state usually refers to the "old" Federal Republic of Germany before 1990. This can mainly be ascribed to the fact that West Germany "literally took over East Germany, setting in motion a rapid transformation of East German institutions" (Rosenfeld, Trappe and Gornick 2004: 104). However, it is usually not sufficiently taken into account that, for example, childcare provision remained relatively high in eastern Germany after unification, and that attitudes and employment behaviours still differ between the two regions (Bauernschuster and Rainer 2011; Grunow and Müller 2012; Kreyenfeld and Geisler 2006; Trappe and Sørensen 2006).

In the following, I will briefly outline Esping-Andersen's (1990) welfare state typology, which he discussed in his seminal work, *"Three worlds of welfare capitalism"*. I will then discuss the criticism of this work and of his additional work, in which he incorporates the concept of defamilialisation. In the subsequent section, I look at how men have been studied in previous welfare state research. I then examine approaches that focus on the influence of culture on employment decisions. In the last section, I outline the discussion on the emergence of an adult worker model in social policy.

Esping-Andersen's classification of welfare states

Gøsta Esping-Andersen can be regarded as the most prominent and influential welfare state theorist. His contributions to welfare state research have been seminal, and are widely cited to explain institutional influence on people's behaviour in welfare states. Although his work has also frequently been criticised, many researchers have used Esping-Andersen's (1990) work as the basis for developments of welfare state theory.

Unlike previous approaches, Esping-Andersen (1990) did not solely concentrate on social expenditure in typologising welfare states. Instead, his focus was on the relations between the state, the market and families or individuals (Meulders and Dorchai 2007). Esping-Andersen's (1990) primary classification of welfare states as liberal, conservative and social democratic regimes is based on the concept of "decommodification", which means that the state provides help to the individual "to maintain a livelihood without reliance on the market" (Esping-Andersen 1990: 22) in cases of sickness, unemployment, old age or parenthood. The three welfare regimes have different ways of dealing with these risks, since each of the regimes is organised "around its own logic of organization, stratification, and societal integration" (Esping-Andersen 1990: 3).

According to Esping-Andersen, stratification is an important feature of the welfare state. Welfare states do not merely distribute income; they also structure the social order and can be regarded as "agent[s] of stratification" (ibid: 55). Through the organisation of the welfare state, social solidarity, the division of classes and status differentiation are determined. (Esping-Andersen 1990: 55). The educational system and the labour market structures are important features of welfare states.

(Western) Germany, together with France, Austria and Italy, have been categorised as conservative welfare states (Esping-Andersen 1990: 27). In this regime, the basic principle is the preservation of status differentials. Therefore, rights are attached to class and status. Social insurance programmes generally include the working population. Due to the strong influence of the church, traditional family values are preserved.

The United Kingdom is classified as a liberal welfare state in which means-tested assistance, modest universal transfers and modest social insurance plans dominate; and with a clientele that is generally made up of low-income state dependents. Benefits, which are mostly modest, are often associated with a stigma. (ibid.: 26). The market is encouraged by the state, either by guaranteeing only a minimum provision or by subsidising private provision. The decommodifying effects are weak in liberal welfare states (ibid.: 27).

Regarding the interaction of the welfare state and the labour market, Esping-Andersen (1990) argued that in each welfare regime a peculiar labour market regime can be found, and that the labour market is "systematically and directly shaped by the (welfare) state" (ibid.: 144). According to Esping-Andersen (1990), three "creeping revolutions" (ibid.: 147) after World War II have been important for the organisation of the labour market. One of these revolutions has been the broadening of the base for full employment, particularly among women. This development led to the need for more political management

because the idea of full employment in the Beveridge model[3] of the welfare state referred only to men (Esping-Andersen 1990: 148). Another "creeping revolution" has been the expansion of the welfare state from a system of social provision to a "virtual employment-machine", which gave women in particular the chance to participate in the labour market. Thus, there has been an extension of the welfare state's responsibilities and a shift towards a strong interdependency between social policy and the labour market after World War II, Esping-Andersen (1990: 149) asserted. The welfare state has had an influence on labour supply since then. On the one hand, the state can provide opportunities to exit the labour market, e.g., through leave programmes; while, on the other hand, it can facilitate labour market participation, e.g., by providing social services for parents, like childcare (Esping-Andersen 1990: 149).

According to Esping-Andersen, the different welfare regimes had different strategies for dealing with the new challenges after World War II. The Scandinavian social democratic welfare states focused on the expansion of the public sector, which created jobs for women and also provided social services, like childcare; while in the other welfare regimes, particularly the conservative regimes, the public sector had been insufficiently developed. Esping-Andersen (1990: 148) pointed out that the expansion of the social service sector has had an important effect on women's employment chances. Furthermore, women's labour supply is strongly influenced by regulations that allow women to exit the labour market, such as parental leave regulations; and also by the provision of care and the tax system (ibid.: 150).

Esping-Andersen's (1990) initial work was heavily criticised by feminist welfare state researchers, who argued that he had neglected the

[3] The Beveridge Plan is based on the report, "Social insurance and allied services", that was chaired by William Beveridge during World War II, and which served as the basis for the creation of the modern British welfare and security system (Cmd. 6404 1942).

category of gender in his analysis.

Gender relations in the welfare state

In his early work on the welfare state, Esping-Andersen (1990) did not systematically include gender in his analysis, and did not explicitly consider how welfare states influence gender relations. His failure to address these issues has been criticised by many feminist scholars (Daly 2000; Langan and Ostner 1991; Lewis 1992; Lewis & Ostner 1994; Orloff 1993, 1996, 2009). As Esping-Andersen (1999) later admitted, his typology was "too narrowly based on income-maintenance programmes, too focused on only the state-market nexus, and too one dimensionally built around the male production worker" (Esping-Andersen 1999: 73). Although Esping-Andersen (1990) described how different welfare regimes influence women's employment behaviour, he did not systematically investigate the stratifying effect of welfare states in terms of the gender dimension. Daly (2000) pointed out that the welfare state is "a powerful agent in shaping all forms of social stratification, not least that between women and men" (Daly 2000: 2).

A main focus of feminist criticism concerned Esping-Andersen's (1990) use of the concept of decommodification, as it only takes women into account if they are in paid employment (Lewis and Ostner 1994; Lewis 1992; Orloff 1993; 1996; 2009). Since the precondition for decommodification is commodification, which means inclusion in the labour market, it neglects the unpaid work in the household, which is usually done by women, and enables the decommodification of other family members (Lewis 1992: 160).

Like other feminist scholars, Orloff (1993) criticised mainstream welfare state research for neglecting gender as a dimension in the analysis of welfare regimes. She proposed extending the analysis by two more dimensions: the access to paid work and the "capacity to form and

maintain an autonomous household" (Orloff 1993: 319). Regarding the access to paid work, Orloff (1993: 318) argued that it is necessary to analyse to what extent welfare states encourage or discourage women's "right to be commodified" (Orloff 1993: 318); meaning, their paid employment. Orloff regards the right to paid employment as fundamental for investigating gender relations in a welfare state, as it provides women with autonomy, ensuring that they do not have to rely on a marriage partner or on their family for support.

The other dimension Orloff (1993) recommended including in the analysis of the welfare state is the capacity to form and maintain an independent household. It is equally important to the decommodification dimension that was put forward by Esping-Andersen (1990), which mainly applied to men who work in the labour market, but not to women who are carers and domestic workers. This dimension is particularly important to consider with regard to lone parents, who are usually lone mothers. A woman's livelihood is generally secure if she is married, but she is less protected if the marriage fails. Thus, citing American feminists, Orloff observed that women are "a husband away from poverty" (Orloff 1993: 319). An important factor to consider in this context is whether entitlements to benefits are individualised or are means-tested to the household income, which often makes women dependent on their male partners. Regarding this proposed dimension, two strategies to secure economic independence have been put forward by two branches of the feminist movement. One branch has argued that the caring itself should entitle women to an income, while the second branch favours improved access to paid work through a reduction in care obligations (Orloff 1993: 320f.).

Several feminist researchers have proposed welfare state typologies that are based on the question of to what extent the different welfare regimes affect the stratification between men and women (Lewis 1992; Lewis and Ostner 1994; Sainsbury 1994; Langan and Ostner

1991)

The main complaint of Lewis (1992) and Lewis and Ostner (1994) was that mainstream welfare state research has not taken the relationship between unpaid and paid work and welfare into account. They suggested a typology which is constructed around the strength of the male breadwinner regime, although they assume that the model has never existed in its pure form. They argued that the strength of the male breadwinner model determines how women are treated in the social security system, to what extent social services (particularly childcare) are provided, and to what extent women participate in the labour market (Lewis and Ostner 1994: 19). They distinguished between strong, moderate and weak male breadwinner regimes. Great Britain and (western) Germany were classified as strong male breadwinner regimes (Lewis and Ostner 1994).

They argued that Great Britain has had a "historical commitment to the male breadwinner model" (Lewis 1992: 163), which was substantially modified in the late 20th century. In the first decades of the 20th century, female employment was generally hampered by, for example, a marriage bar in the professions, and bans on the employment of married mothers. The family and its operating gender roles were seen as a guarantee of social security and stability. This idea was reinforced through the education of working-class women in household management and infant welfare. Although it supported women's welfare as mothers and wives, the welfare state did not directly undermine men's roles as breadwinners. For example, the national health and unemployment insurance plan that was introduced in 1911 did not cover women and children unless the woman was in full-time employment, a condition which applied to only 10% of women at this time. Women as workers were not given much protection. Great Britain, for example, did not implement paid maternity leave for a long time. It was argued that it was the father's role to support his family, and that female employment harms the well-being of children and the stability of the

family. Lewis (1992) and Lewis and Ostner (1994) referred to Poovey (1989), who argued that the goal of protective legislation was to minimise mothers' labour market participation rather than to maximise their welfare.

They further argued that the Beveridge model, which was implemented after World War II, defined women as wives and mothers, and therefore as dependent on a male breadwinner. Until the mid-1970s, when equal opportunity laws were passed, there was a "married women's option", which gave married women the opportunity to pay fewer contributions to the social security system and to collect lower payments later (Lewis and Ostner 1994: 20). When the invalid care allowance was introduced at the same time, it was denied to married mothers because caring was regarded as a married woman's normal duty. Moreover, child care provision has been low in Great Britain.

Regarding western Germany, Lewis and Ostner (1994) argued that the focus after World War II was on the protection of the family's privacy. Western German family policies were clearly designed in opposition to the National Socialist policies that were in place between 1933 and 1945, which strongly intervened in marriage and family life (Lewis and Ostner 1994: 21). A peculiarity of the German welfare state is that marriage and family are protected by the Basic Law, which has meant that marital living arrangements have been supported by the tax system, as well as by the pension and health insurance systems. Women have mainly been treated as dependents in social policies. Parental leave policies and childcare arrangements have heavily supported the male breadwinner model by providing a long parental leave but little childcare, which often prevents women from being (full-time) employed. In both western Germany and Great Britain, the increase in the employment rates of mothers has mainly been due to a rise in the number of mothers who work part-time (Lewis and Ostner 1994: 23). However, part-time employment implies lower income, lower benefits and continued dependence on a (male) breadwinner (ibid.: 23f.). In the

GDR, in contrast, social policies focused on full-time working mothers.

Although Lewis' (1992) and Lewis' and Ostner's (1994) studies have been widely cited, it is important to keep in mind that they were mainly referring to the German and the British welfare state until the late 1980s. Starting in the 1990s in Great Britain and in the early 2000s in unified Germany, social policies started to change, and now more actively promote the reconciliation of work and family. This shift has, however, occurred for different reasons in each country. These reasons have been discussed in recent welfare state research on the movement towards the adult worker model (Lewis 2001; Daly 2011).

Sainsbury (1994) criticised Lewis' and Ostner's (1994) work for mainly concentrating on the division of paid and unpaid work and welfare. She proposed examining several dimensions of the welfare state to differentiate two ideal types of the welfare state: the male breadwinner model and the individual model (Sainsbury 1994: 152). According to Sainsbury (1994: 153, Table 10.1), 10 dimensions are important when classifying the individual and the breadwinner models in social policy: familial ideology, entitlements to social policy benefits, the basis of entitlements, the recipient of benefits, the unit of benefit, the unit of contributions, taxation, employment and wage policies, the sphere of care and, finally, the way caring work is treated (paid or unpaid). Whereas in the breadwinner model, the familial ideology includes a strict division of labour between husbands and wives; in the individual model, both women and men are supposed to be earners and carers. Additionally, care work is partially paid in the individual model, and the state provides opportunities for care. In the breadwinner model, by contrast, care is regarded as private and is unpaid. Familial ideology has implications for the system of social policy, family law and labour legislation. In the breadwinner model, the unit of benefit is the family, husband and wives are entitled to differ-

ent benefits, and the benefit recipient is usually the husband. In the individual model, by contrast, individuals are regarded as the unit and recipient of benefit, and there are no deductions in the benefits for dependents. Regarding employment and wage policies, the breadwinner model emphasises men's employment and earnings, whereas the individual model promotes policies aimed at both men and women. The tax system provides joint taxation for husbands and wives and deductions for dependents in the breadwinner model, whereas the individual person is the basis for taxation in the individual model (Sainsbury 1994: 152f.).

Sainsbury (1994) applied these dimensions in investigating the social policies of the United Kingdom, the US, the Netherlands and Sweden in the late 1960s (Sainsbury 1994: 154ff.). Unlike Lewis and Ostner (1994), who categorised the UK as a strong male breadwinner regime, Sainsbury (1994) placed the UK in a medium position between the two ideal types of the breadwinner and the individual model. She argued that the British welfare state established ambivalent work incentives for married women. On the one hand, the structure of the insurance system (the "married women's option", which was described in the discussion on Lewis' and Ostner's (1994) and Lewis' (1994) work) and the low provision of childcare create negative incentives for women's employment participation. On the other hand, however, the tax system established a rather positive employment incentive for women by granting a tax allowance similar to a single earner's tax relief. Additionally, family allowances were paid to the mother, which Sainsbury (1994: 159) regarded as a recognition of the principle of care.

Sainsbury (1994) did not classify the West German welfare state of the 1960s, but, according to her dimensions, it can clearly be categorised as the ideal type of the male breadwinner model. In West Germany, a traditional familial ideology predominated, which supported a strict division of labour between men and women and thus supported

caring work as private and unpaid or as very low paid work. This ideology was supported by a joint taxation and benefit system that regarded the family as the beneficiary unit. In contrast, the East German state of the 1960s supported and expected the employment of mothers by expanding the public provision of childcare and creating a familial ideology of working parents, without offering any privileges for the breadwinner model.

A big advantage of Sainsbury's classification is that it can be used to analyse variations in social policy over time (Sainsbury 1994: 154).

Esping-Andersen's (1999) concept of defamilialisation

Another book that has received considerable attention in welfare state research is Gøsta Esping-Andersen's *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies,* which was published in 1999. Esping-Andersen examined the "postindustrial economy" and the "welfare state crisis" (Esping-Andersen 1999: 4) in this book. In line with his arguments in *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism,* he assumed that there is a path dependency in the transformation of welfare states to postindustrial economies (ibid.: 4). He argued that the crisis that has been often debated has focused too much on the state itself. Instead, he asserted, the crisis can be seen "in the *interaction* between the composite parts that, in unison, form contemporary welfare 'regimes': labour markets, the family, and, as a third partner, the welfare *state*" (Esping-Andersen 1999: 4)[4]. Furthermore, he argued that the "real" crisis of the contemporary welfare state is that the existing institutions do not match the current change in behaviour that is underway (Esping-Andersen 1999: 5). This is because the welfare states of the 1980s and 1990s have their origins in a society that no longer exists: i.e., an industry-dominated economy with a high demand for low-skilled workers; a quite homogenous, mainly male labour force; stable

[4] Emphasis in the original.

families; high fertility; and a high proportion of women who are housewives. Therefore, the risk profiles are still built around these former conditions of the welfare state, even though the risk structures have changed considerably. For Esping-Andersen, it is crucial that this dramatic change in risk structures is understood, and he criticised European welfare states for not sufficiently doing so (ibid.: 5). Particularly with regard to female employment and family life, Esping-Andersen argued that European welfare states are "comparatively less capable of managing the postindustrial family in general, and women's desire to work in particular" (ibid.: 28). Thus, as a result of the incompatibility of family and work, women's fertility rates are declining, which undermines the sustainability of the welfare state in the long run (Esping-Andersen 1999: 5).

As was noted above, Esping-Andersen agreed with the feminist criticism of his concept of decommodification from his earlier work (Esping-Andersen 1990). In *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies,* he introduced the concepts of "familialism" and "defamilialisation"[5] into his analyses. These concepts can be regarded as more useful for analysing welfare states in terms of gender roles and how gender relations are shaped. Esping-Andersen used the concept of defamilialisation to estimate to what extent welfare states' policies "lessen individuals' reliance on the family […] and maximize individuals' command of economic resources independently of familial or conjugal reciprocities" (Esping-Andersen 1999: 45). In line with his concept of decommodification, Esping-Andersen argued that defamilialisation within a welfare regime is more a "matter of degree than of an 'either-or'" (ibid.). Defamilialisation is regarded as the precondition for decommodification, since it enables people to participate in

[5] Lister (1994) initially used the term "defamilialisation" to characterise welfare regimes "according to the degree to which individual adults can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living, independently of family relationships, either through paid work or through the social security system" (Lister 1994: 37). However, Esping-Andersen (1999) did not refer to Lister's work.

the labour market. Consequently, Esping-Andersen defined a defamilialising system as one that "seeks to unburden the household and diminish individuals' welfare dependence on kinship" (Esping-Andersen 1999: 51), and a familialistic system as one "in which public policy assumes – indeed insists – that households must carry the principal responsibility for their members welfare" (ibid.). For women, Esping-Andersen (1999: 51) described defamilialisation as the degree to which social policy (or markets) enable women to be autonomous and become commodified or to set up an independent household. Empirically, several indicators are used to examine to what extent welfare states have absorbed family tasks: the family service expenditure as a percentage of the GDP, subsidies to families measured as the value of family allowances and tax deductions, the provision of childcare for children under age three, and the provision of service for older people measured as the proportion of people aged 65 or older who receive home-help services (Esping-Andersen 1999: 61). However, Esping-Andersen (1999: 62) stressed that it is also important to examine the relationship between the market and the family, since defamilialisation can also occur through the market. For him, however, the problem is that markets do not represent a reliable alternative to public services, at least not in Europe, since prices for services are quite high, and markets in particular therefore "'fail' for the most needy" (Esping-Andersen 1999: 57). To measure the intensity of welfare responsibilities absorbed by the family, Esping-Andersen (1999: 62f.) investigated the proportion of elderly people living with their children, the proportion of unemployed young people living with their parents, and the unpaid hours of work performed by women in the household.

Esping-Andersen's (1999: 60ff.) findings on welfare regimes coincide with his findings from his earlier work (Esping-Andersen 1990). Social democratic welfare states defamilialise to the greatest extent, whereas conservative welfare states like Germany and liberal welfare states such as the UK defamilialise to a lesser extent. This is because

in social democratic regimes, broad services for the family are provided by the state; whereas in liberal regimes, such as that of the UK, care has to be purchased mainly in the market; and in conservative regimes, such as Germany, care has to be provided by the family (Esping-Andersen 1999: 64). For both the liberal and the conservative regimes, Esping-Andersen identified a "concomitant welfare state and market 'failure'[6]" (1999: 64).

Esping-Andersen's (1999: 70) main message was that postindustrial welfare states can no longer rely on women's availability as housewives and full-time mothers, since this social policy assumption would lead to a lack of welfare on the micro and on the macro level. He argued that on the micro level, familialism hampers women's ability to combine work and family, which leads to lower fertility, lower household incomes and higher poverty risks. Familialism and its consequences result in lower female employment and lower fertility, which implies a smaller tax base, as well as a general threat to the welfare state's viability on the macro level (Esping-Andersen 1999: 70).

Although Esping-Andersen's (1999) tried to address the feminist critique of his earlier work in *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies,* and he also put more emphasis on households, it is possible to argue that his concepts of familialism and defamilialisation conceal the fact that the main share of housework is usually done by women, and is not equally shared among all family members. In general, Esping-Andersen's focus was on women and how their employability can be enabled by the welfare state. Esping-Andersen did not, however, focus on the welfare state's impact on gender relations, as was demanded by feminist critics. But this was not his aim, as he stated himself (Esping-Andersen 1999: 51).

[6] Emphasis in the original.

Men in welfare state analyses

Although feminist welfare state research of the 1990s complained that "mainstream"[7] (Orloff 2009: 318) welfare state research did not consider the dimension of gender within welfare regimes, it could be argued that feminist welfare state scholars have also neglected the potential role of men as carers, and how welfare states could support this role (Orloff 2009: 329). Therefore, men as fathers have seldom been considered in welfare state research. Men's decommodification has been discussed in connection with sickness or old age, but not with parenthood. Only recently has this perspective been extended bit by bit (Esping-Andersen 2002; Daly 2011). Orloff asserted that "men are simply absent" (Orloff 2009: 329) in welfare state discussions regarding care, which is only partially true. In his *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies,* Esping-Andersen did not regard greater engagement of men in care as the solution. Instead, he supported greater engagement of the state. He wrote that "(p)olicies that advocate more male participation within the household may appear egalitarian from a gender point of view, but they do not appear to be a 'win-win' strategy. Most households, we can assume would prefer to reduce the necessary unpaid hours for both partners if that were possible" (Esping-Andersen 1999: 59). However, in his later work (Esping-Andersen 2002), he changed his view, and came to see a change in men's behaviour as necessary for sufficient gender equality. For example, he wrote that "the egalitarian challenge is unlikely to find resolution unless, simultaneously, the male life course becomes more 'feminine'. In other words, if we want more gender equality our policies may have to concentrate on men's behaviour." (Esping-Andersen 2002: 70). He argued that the "masculinisation" of women's life courses, meaning women's adaptation to the standard male life course with full-time employment, has limitations if women want to become

[7] With "mainstream" welfare state research Orloff (2009: 318, footnote 2) refers to welfare state approaches that do not explicitly incorporate gender as a category.

mothers. He warned that policies designed to promote the reconciliation of employment and childrearing will fall short if they are solely concentrated on women, since they produce new inequalities due to increasing gender-based occupational segregation, a problem which can, for example, be observed in Sweden (Esping-Andersen 2002: 74). Therefore, he concluded, policy also needs to focus on men's behaviour. Esping-Andersen (2009: 99) argued for a "feminisation" of men's life courses, by which he meant that a gender-equal division of labour in the household has to be encouraged, together with fathers' use of parental leave after childbirth. However, policy also needs to establish real incentives for fathers to engage in childcare by granting a high level of income compensation during leave (Esping-Andersen 2002: 93f). Furthermore, Esping-Andersen argued that even the most progressive parental leave policies will not change men's behaviour if the gender wage gap and gender occupational segregation persist and limit the incentives for men to engage in childcare and household labour (Esping-Andersen 2002: 93).

However, although Esping-Andersen (2002) acknowledged that there is a strong need to include men's behaviour in welfare state research, in his analyses his main focus has been on women and on how they are able to reconcile family and work (Esping-Andersen 2002: 68ff.). Esping-Andersen's (2002) view on gender equality is particularly striking. While he has claimed to regard it as necessary, the underlying rationale for his view does not appear to be the need for more gender equity and justice in general, but rather economic considerations (Esping-Andersen 2002: 68ff.).

Gender equality and social investment in the welfare state

The emphasis on gender equality for economic reasons is very much in line with the social investment approach that Esping-Andersen (2002: 26ff., 2009: 130ff.) has advocated. He emphasised the im-

portance of a social investment strategy that focuses on inclusion, activation and the eradication of poverty in order to ensure the full use of existing (and future) human capital. He argued that due to the demographic change and the resulting future labour shortage, the focus has to be on investing in children's cognitive skills in order to build future human capital resources. Therefore, adequate income for families has to be ensured so that child poverty can be avoided, since the latter has been shown to have negative effects on children's development.

In addition to the provision of adequate family benefits, women's employment is seen as the major factor in preventing child poverty, since it increases the income of two-earner families and prevents post-dissolution poverty of mothers and their children. Universal childcare with specific supports for disadvantaged children is regarded as the key to enabling women's employment and supporting children's development (Esping-Andersen 2002: 49f.).

In this context, the support of women's employment and gender equality is not a goal that needs to be achieved per se, but a means of preventing child poverty and increasing fertility in the long run (Esping-Andersen 2002: 26ff).

Culture in welfare state analysis

Welfare state approaches have been criticised for not sufficiently incorporating culture into comparative welfare state analysis (Duncan and Edwards 1997; Duncan et al. 2003; Pfau-Effinger 2004; 2005). According to Pfau-Effinger (2004; 2005), it is not plausible that individual behaviour is clearly determined by the state, and that policies influence people in a way that can be easily predicted. It is a rather more complex interrelation, since culture has important effects on people's decisions, and is able to change the influence of welfare state

policies on the behaviour of individuals or social groups (Pfau-Effinger 2005: 6). Therefore, the assumption that all people act as "rational economic man" is insufficient in describing their decision-making processes. It cannot be presumed that specific welfare state policies result in the expected behaviour, since people behave according to "moral rationalities" (Duncan and Edwards 1997; Duncan et al. 2003), which are "social and cultural collective understandings about what is best, and morally right" (Duncan and Edwards 1997: 35). Obviously these understandings of "right" and "wrong" behaviour differ for men and women; they are gendered. Economic circumstances are regarded as important, but they are subordinated to the "gendered moral rationalities" in guiding individual employment behaviour. These "gendered moral rationalities" or "cultural constructions" of motherhood, fatherhood and childhood (Pfau-Effinger 2004: 47) can be regarded as the basis for employment decisions. Pfau-Effinger (2005) also argued that culture may modify the impact of welfare state policies on the behaviour of individual and social groups, since within the cultural system "divergent or even contradictory values and ideas may exist" (2005: 6). This is an important idea, as it implies that one social policy measure might lead to different outcomes among different groups, possibly because the "moral rationalities" differ between social groups.

Since Pfau-Effinger's focus was on female employment, she argued that the policies of the welfare state have a major impact on women's labour force participation, but it is also possible to argue that the state has an impact on men. There are several ways in which welfare state policies influence the inclusion of the individual into the labour market. They have strong effects on how the cultural models of female employment are reproduced and transformed, and on how the division of labour in the family is organised. First, the welfare state has the ability to distribute resources within the society, which then influences which groups of the population are included in the employment

sphere, and how the division of labour within the family is organised. Second, the legal framework of the labour market, in conjunction with social, family and employment policies, affect the employment behaviour of people. Third, the state is itself an employer (Pfau-Effinger 2004: 48; Esping-Andersen 1990: 149). These functions of the welfare state turn it into a place in which conflicts and negotiation processes regarding gender arrangements can unfold (Pfau-Effinger 2004: 48).

Value change and attitudes on the gender division of labour

It is possible to argue that "gendered moral rationalities"—or, as Pfau-Effinger has argued, "gender arrangements"—not only differ between welfare regimes, but that they also differ between social groups within a society. However, the question is which social groups tend to favour a non-traditional division of work. Inglehart's (1971, 1977, 1990, 1997) theory on value change might provide some insights into the underlying mechanisms of differences in gender role attitudes within a society.

This theory assumes that due to the rapid economic development in most industrial societies and the extension of the modern welfare state after World War II, younger cohorts have developed value priorities that differ from those of older generations. Whereas older cohorts had to be more concerned about their economic well-being, which was not a given for many people, younger cohorts experienced economic prosperity and security to a greater extent. This has led to a shift from materialist to postmaterialist values. People are regarded as holding materialist values if they mainly emphasise economic and physical security, whereas people who see self-expression and the quality of life as most important are regarded as postmaterialist (Inglehart 1997: 4).

However, Inglehart pointed out that the shift from materialist towards

post-materialist values is only one part of a much broader cultural shift that includes religion and sexual norms. And although the movement towards post-materialist values has been the best-documented component in this larger shift, the change in gender roles has been by far the most rapid one (ibid: 5; Inglehart, Norris and Welzel 2003: 106).

Inglehart assumed that cultural change is a product of modernisation. The core of the modernisation process is industrialisation, in which the dominant goals are economic growth at the level of society, and achievement at the individual level. The process is characterised by a rationalisation of all spheres of society, which leads to a shift away from traditional, usually religious values, towards rational-legal values in economic, political and social life (ibid: 5). With the advancement of modernisation, the values of rationality change into postmodern values, which leads to changes in society, such as increasing equality between women and men and increasing democratisation.

There are not only differences in values between cohorts, but also differences between people with different levels of education. Rising educational levels in general have contributed to this value change, and individuals with higher educational qualifications have also been found to be more likely to hold postmaterialist values (Inglehart 1997: 102, 152ff.; Lesthaeghe and Neidert 2006; Scarbrough 1998: 155). However, Inglehart (1997: 152ff.) argued that this is a rather indirect effect, since his analyses showed that the education of an individual's parents is more important than the individual's own education. The mechanism behind this phenomenon is that parents' higher educational level also implies more economic security during the person's formative years. Parents' economic well-being is also associated with greater opportunities for children to obtain a higher education (Inglehart 1997: 152).

The erosion of the male breadwinner model - A shift towards the adult worker model?

Over the past decade, welfare state researchers have discussed the emergence of an adult worker model in social policy and in employment behaviour in various countries (Daly 2011; Lewis 2001, 2004, 2006; Lewis, Campbell and Huerta 2008; Lewis and Giullari 2005; Lewis et al. 2008; Rüling 2007).

The British sociologist Jane Lewis (2001) first used the term "adult worker model" to describe the change towards the norm of individualisation[8] in social policy. According to Lewis (2001), there has been an erosion of the male breadwinner model at the behavioural level due to the rising numbers of women in employment and a change in family and partnership behaviour. In her view, the survival of the male breadwinner model was dependent on full (male) labour market participation and the perpetuity of marriage (Lewis 2004: 62). Lewis (2001) argued that, in the post-war period, social policy had been dominated by the assumption that families live according to the male breadwinner model, but that there has since been an observable shift towards an "adult-worker model family" (Lewis 2001: 154). The assumption within this model is that all able-bodied adults participate in the labour market. However, the problem is that this social policy assumption does not match the social reality. Whereas in reality there may be a one-and-a-half earner model with a full-time working man

[8] Individualisation is a concept that has been widely discussed, particularly in German sociology (Beck 1986; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 1990). Beck-Gernsheim defined individualisation as "a historical process that increasingly questions and tends to break people's traditional rhythm of life – what sociologists call the normal biography" (Beck-Gernsheim 1998: 56). Within this process people are more and more "forced to piece together their own biographies and fit in the components they need as best they can. They find themselves bereft of unquestionable assumptions, beliefs or values and are nevertheless faced with the tangle of institutional controls and constraints which make up the fibre of modern life (welfare state, labour market, educational system etc.)" (Beck-Gernsheim, 1998: 56f.). Ostner (2004), who looked at the origins of the concept of individualisation, argued that the meaning of individualisation has changed in recent welfare state discussions in Germany, towards a meaning of "labour market individualisation" (Ostner 2004: 52).

and a part-time working female partner, social policies tend to assume the full individualisation of all adults, Lewis argued. While in the post-war period the male breadwinner model was regarded as the ideal by social policy makers, today the adult worker model is increasingly regarded as the optimal family arrangement. However, the erosion of the male breadwinner model is a complicated process, and there is no simple move towards a dual career model. There is, rather, a shift towards various forms of dual breadwinner models (Lewis 2001: 156).

Lewis (2001: 157) distinguished six patterns of family work arrangements. First, there is the "classic" *male breadwinner model,* with a man in full-time paid employment, and a woman in a full-time, unpaid carer role. The opposite of this model is the dual career model, in which both partners work full-time, and care is mainly provided by the market, kin, the state or the voluntary sector. There are three forms of work and care arrangements in between these two poles which Lewis labels dual breadwinner models 1, 2 and 3. The *dual breadwinner model 1* is characterised by a full-time male earner and a female partner who works a short part-time schedule. In this model, care is mainly provided by the female earner and kin. The arrangement in which the male partner works full-time and the female partner works a long part-time schedule is labelled *dual breadwinner model 2.* In this model, family members, the state, the voluntary sector or the market provide care. This differs from the *dual breadwinner model 3,* in which both partners work part-time and provide equal amounts of care. The sixth model, according to Lewis (2001), is the *single earner (lone mother family) model,* which is characterised by either a female full-time or part-time earner or a full-time mother who is reliant on state benefits. Care is provided either by the mother exclusively or with assistance from kin and the state.

Lewis (2001) argued that, due to the gender wage gap, the social reality is dominated by the dual breadwinner models 1 and 2. Although

women's employment behaviour has considerably changed, they are still the ones who do the greater share of the childcare and housework, while men's behaviour regarding employment or unpaid work has not changed substantially. And although the attitudes have shifted towards a wider acceptance of the employment of mothers, there are still differences by social class, ethnicity and region in terms of the extent to which maternal employment is accepted (Lewis 2001: 156).

Lewis asserted that although policy makers recognise a trend towards more individualisation in family and labour market behaviour, they underestimate the complexities connected with this shift. This is, for example, the case in the United Kingdom, especially in terms of the policies on lone mothers. Whereas in the past lone mothers have been treated as full-time mothers who were not required to engage in employment, they are now regarded as adult workers who are expected to work full-time. There is no legitimacy anymore to engaging in full-time motherhood (Daly 2004: 139). The rationale behind this shift is to reduce their dependence on welfare benefits.

In general, Lewis (2001) argued, the behavioural changes in the labour market and at the family level, particularly among women, have led to a mismatch of the traditional gender role assumptions on which social policies were based on the one hand, and people's behaviour on the other. When the mismatch became too big, new policy assumptions about the new "ought" (Lewis 2001: 161) were developed, in order to find a "new balance between employment and family" (Daly 2011: 18). Unlike in the past, social policy makers now expect women to be employed, but what the extent of this employment should be and which women should work are not yet clear (Lewis 2001: 158). The new social policy assumptions may be "running ahead of behavioural change" (Lewis 2001: 158), meaning that social policy assumes women's full integration in the labour market, despite constraints, such as the inadequate provision of childcare and attitudes which are prevent-

ing them yet from behaving according to these new assumptions. While policy assumptions have lagged behind behaviour in the past, behaviour now lags behind the new social policy assumptions. Lewis further argued that, because there is a large gap between the social reality in which a one-and-a-half-earner model dominates and the policy assumptions of a dual-career model, ambiguities in the translation of the adult worker model into policy are created (Lewis 2001: 158). Lewis (2001) was mainly referring to the policy shift in the UK after New Labour came to power in 1997, but a similar shift in social policy can be observed in Germany since the 2000s (Ostner 2010).

One reason for these ambiguities is that the assumptions of an adult worker model of fully individualised, autonomous family members interferes with the reality of the arrangements of the benefit systems, which still operate according to old male breadwinner assumptions. These ambiguities may put women in difficult situations in terms of social provision if they are assumed to be adult workers, but they actually are not. It is, however, interesting to explore the question of whether—and, if so, to what extent—the reactions to the new policy assumptions differ according to social stratum, education and partnership status. As was noted above, Duncan and Edwards (1997) argued that employment behaviour is influenced by "gendered moral rationalities" that not only vary between men and women, but also between social groups.

Several authors have stressed the fact that there is no clear shift towards an adult worker model in European social policies. Instead, they simultaneously show individualising, or defamilialising, as well as familialising tendencies (Daly 2011; Rüling 2007, Leitner, Ostner and Schratzenstaller 2004).

Recently, Daly (2011) has critically investigated the adult worker model as a theoretical framework for welfare state research, and its potential for mapping the social reality. She criticised the model as

only insufficiently describing the on-going trend in social policy (Daly 2011). She argued that, although the model describes the trend towards individualisation, it is only partially correct in its characterisation of social policy development. Despite what the apparent shift towards an adult worker model seems to suggest, in Daly's opinion social policy does not regard the single individual as the "ideal policy subject", but rather focuses on the "individual with family bonds and familial embeddedness" (Daly 2011: 17). This means that the policy shift cannot be regarded as a shift towards a more individualising (or defamilialising) social policy, but rather as a social policy that is still familialising.

Daly further observed that the European welfare states have an interest in reinforcing and "consolidat(ing) the family as a source of stability and social integration" (Daly 2011: 18). This is because the social context is evolving due to economic changes, and new social risks are emerging as a result of changing commitments to family roles. According to Daly, the "ambivalence" or "ambiguities" of social policy reforms which Lewis (2001) pointed out represent an attempt to find the right balance between supporting the social institution of the family and granting individuals choices regarding their family lives and commitments. Daly stressed, however, that ideology is very important in the formulation of social policy reforms dealing with family and gender issues. In her view, two dominant philosophical streams are present in the current social policy reform that have an especially negative effect on individualisation: neo-familialism tries to modernise traditional gender role views by granting women rights as carers, while the "Third Way"[9] favours dual earner arrangements.

[9] The Third Way is a political philosophy that is defined as "an attempt by contemporary social democracies to forge a new political settlement which is fitted to the conditions of a modern society and new global economy, but which retains the goals of social cohesion and egalitarianism […]. It seeks to differentiate itself as distinct from the political ideologies of the New Right and Old Left" (Surender 2004: 3). It was usually linked to the Democratic Party in the US in the Clinton era, but it later

Germany (under the Red-Green coalition between 1998-2005) and the UK (under Tony Blair's New Labour government between 1997-2007) are both countries in which social policy reform has been dominated by the Third Way idea (Blair and Schröder 1999), according to which "workless households" are regarded as a problem, and employment incentives for both men and women are established. Social inclusion is mainly understood as an inclusion in the labour market (Daly 2004: 139). However, in Third Way politics, gender differences and gender inequalities are not problematised. Daly argued (2011: 19) that individuals are rather regarded as gender-neutral, economically independent worker-citizens (ibid: 143), and the aim of Third Way policies is not to interfere in the division of unpaid work.

The disadvantage that Daly (2011: 6) has identified in the adult worker model is that, although the model tries to describe the extent to which people have a choice, the choice is limited to the domain of employment. The model fails to address the division of unpaid labour, and it gives no information on the broader institutional and other arrangements that underlie the model. Moreover, unlike Lewis' (1992)

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also entered the discourses in European social democratic parties in the UK, Germany and the Netherlands. Regarding social policy, "the model attempts to transcend the fixed alternatives of the state and the market. Instead civil society, government, and the economy are viewed as interdependent and equal partners in the provision of welfare; and the challenge for government is to create equilibrium between these three pillars". (Surender 2004: 3). The emphasis in social policies of the Third Way is self-help and the independence of the individual, "active citizenship, while business and government must contribute to economic and social cohesion" (Surender 2004: 4). Giddens (1998), who has been a proponent of the Third Way, has argued that Third Way political philosophy is not beyond Left and Right, but beyond both political directions. For Giddens (1998), the Third Way represents a "renewal of social democracy in a changed 'globalized' environment where the solutions of the Old Left have become redundant while those of the Right are reactionary" (Surender 2004: 4). Central to the Third Way is the reform of existing welfare arrangements (White 2004: 25). White (2004: 30f), who mainly discusses Third Way politics in the UK, argues that within the welfare state reform the focus is on employment-centred social policy, which means that benefits are conditional on active job search and training, early social investments are made to create egalitarianism, and the state is a guarantor but not necessarily a provider of social services (which come instead from private providers). Daly (2004), who has investigated changing conceptions of the family within Third Way thinking, has argued that with regard to the family, Third Way philosophy is strongly normative and advocates a new type of family, the "democratic family", (Giddens 1998) which implies shared responsibility for childcare (Daly 2004: 144).

earlier male breadwinner typology, there are no variations formulated in the model.

Daly (2011: 7) suggested a concept based on the poles of "individualisation" and "familisation" to analyse the trend in the reform of social policy affecting gender and family issues, instead of the adult worker model. She (Daly 2011: 8) proposed four dimensions for the analysis of the social policy change: the treatment of people as individuals or family members, the preferred location of care and its treatment as paid or unpaid, the treatment of the family as an institution, and the problematisation of gender inequality. The question that should be considered when investigating the trend in social policy is to what extent reforms support a trend towards individualisation or familisation along these dimensions (Daly 2011: 8).

Daly (2011: 10ff) noted a development towards individualisation in recent social policy reforms in European countries, including Germany and the UK. She identified this development by several trends: the tendency to grant children individual rights (e.g., a guaranteed childcare place in Germany and the UK), the trend towards activating lone mothers and the downgrading of derived rights (e.g., survivor pensions). Additionally, the development towards the provision of childcare services are part of the trend towards individualisation. Childcare is on the one hand provided to facilitate mothers' employment, and is on the other hand driven by a "social investment" approach that aims at investing in children as future human capital by providing education rather than care, particularly in the UK (Lister 2006). Furthermore, Daly observed a trend towards a decline in the support of one earner household arrangements via joint taxation. However, there are still a few countries that grant married couples the "housewife bonus", including Germany. This bonus was abolished in the UK in 1990. Another relevant trend that Daly (2011: 12) identified is the tendency towards influencing fathers' behaviour by implementing "daddy

months" in the parental leave system. Having started in the Scandinavian countries, daddy months were also introduced in Germany in 2007. Even the UK, where leave after the birth of a child is concentrated on the mothers, has introduced a short paternity leave as well as a gender-neutral parental leave. Whereas in the Scandinavian countries one of the main objectives in offering this leave was to support gender equality by involving fathers in childcare, gender equality was not a primary reason for the reforms in Germany and the UK (Daly 2011: 2; Daly 2004: 143).

In general, the motives behind the shift towards the adult worker model have been different in Germany and Great Britain. In Germany the focus has been on population ageing and an ageing workforce, and hence the need to increase women's, particularly mothers', labour market participation. Therefore, a "sustainable family policy" that supports the reconciliation of family and work has been promoted mainly for these economic and demographic reasons (Rürup and Gruescu 2003; Rüling 2007; Kahlert 2007; Ostner 2006, Lewis et al. 2008; Henninger, Wimbauer and Dombrowski 2008; Fleckenstein 2011). In the UK, the motives have mainly been combating child poverty and social exclusion (Annesley, Gains and Rummery 2007; Daly 2010; Lewis and Campbell 2007).

However, in addition to these individualising trends, there are several trends that can be regarded as familialising (Daly 2011: 12 ff.). Among them are the support of part-time work, as well as the extension of payments and rights in the context of care (as pension credits for care periods), or the persisting treatment of couples as a unit instead of as individuals when granting services and benefits. In Great Britain, the extension of maternity leave in particular can be regarded as a form of familisation for women (Daly 2011: 17). Daly (2011) has called the policy reforms a middle way between individualisation and familisation (ibid: 17). She has argued that the shift in social policy

can be better described as a shift towards a *dual earner, gender-specialised family model* than towards an *adult worker model* (ibid: 18). However, just as Daly (2011) has criticised Lewis' (2001) adult worker model for failing to include variations, the same can be said about the model she has proposed.

The question that the shift towards the adult worker model in social policy raises is how the ambiguities connected with the shift affect existing behavioural differences in employment by education, social stratum, ethnicity and partnership status (Rüling 2007: 24). The assumption of an adult worker model in social policy favours those who are already more likely to participate in the labour market, which are the highly educated men and women who are also more likely to live in dual career partnerships. In the UK, lone mothers have increasingly been required to participate in the labour market and have been offered financial incentives to do so in the form of tax credits, although the provision of childcare has been insufficient. The social policy assumptions are particularly confusing for couples of lower social strata, since the benefit systems have shifted to treating the partners (mainly women) of individuals claiming social benefits as both adult workers and as dependents (Daly 2011: 15).

The normative dimension of social policies - How do social policies work?

The question that is central to this study is *how* social policies shape employment behaviour. With regard to family policy, Strohmeier[10] has argued that it "is nothing less than the incorporation of social values into political institutions and social services" (Strohmeier 2002: 346). The implementation of family policies is an expression of the

[10] Strohmeier (2002, 2008) explicitly concentrated on family policy and how it affects the choice of living arrangements and fertility. Unlike our study, his focus did not include other social policies, such as labour market policy.

state's interests in the family's activities (Strohmeier 2008: 238f.). The "national family policy profile" can be regarded as a parameter for biographic decisions, and it is part of the common culture and common knowledge on social structures, which are the basis for individual decision-making. Hence, it defines societal norms and ideas about the "right" family life, and therefore also the likelihood of biographic options (Strohmeier 2008: 250). There is an interaction between the common culture and family policy: on the one hand, the "common culture" provides the basis for the implementation of the national family policy profile; but on the other hand, it also influences the policy profile in the long run (Strohmeier 2008: 250). The family policy profile can be regarded as a constraint on or a frame for biographic options, but not as a clear determinant for individual decision-making (Strohmeier 2002: 345).

As the discussion on the shift towards the adult worker model shows, social policies have a strong normative dimension. They are influenced by the welfare state culture (Pfau-Effinger 2005), or the "common culture" (Strohmeier 2002). Bourdieu (1996) has argued that family policy concentrates on strengthening a specific "ideal" type of family.

Strohmeier (2002, 2008) reflected on the influence of family policy on fertility and not on the influence of social policies in general on employment behaviour. However, it could be assumed that the influence of social policies on employment behaviour is stronger than on fertility behaviour, since the consequences of employment decisions tend to be less far-reaching than those of fertility decisions.

Furthermore, Strohmeier (2008: 250) has argued that the dynamics of individual lifestyles at the micro level are very different from the policy dynamics at the macro level. Individual behaviour can run ahead of the policies; or, conversely, policies can run ahead the individual behaviour, which then lags behind the policy expectations. This is what

Lewis (2001, 2004) and Daly (2011) have argued. Social policies in Great Britain and Germany have shifted towards the adult worker model, even though the majority of individuals live in arrangements that are more similar to one or the other forms of the modernised male breadwinner model.

2.2 The economic view on employment decisions

The discussion on welfare state research has shown that welfare state policies create certain employment incentives or disincentives. They do so either through the underlying welfare state culture or via direct financial (e.g., tax) incentives and disincentives, including the provision of social services, like childcare, and leave opportunities. In the following, I will outline the economic framework and discuss how welfare state incentives have been integrated therein.

The neoclassical economic framework and employment decisions

In microeconomic theory, people are regarded as acting rationally and seeking to maximise their utility function. Labour supply is regarded as a consumption choice between income from the market and non-market time (leisure, time for childrearing) (Case et al. 1999). The decision about whether to enter the labour market is determined by a person's budget constraints, which are shaped by the individual wage rate she is able to obtain in the market, and her income from other sources (wealth, partner's income). The individual wage rate is a function of the human capital stock acquired by a person (Mincer and Polachek 1974). The decision about how much time she will devote to the labour market is determined by the point at which her indifference curve is tangent to the budget constraint (Bryant 1990; Case et al. 1999). The labour supply model suggests that children in the household influence people's decision to work, and also the number of

hours they work (Bryant 1990: 148). On the one hand, the presence of children increases the demand for market goods, which leads to a need to increase market work to buy those goods; but on the other hand, it also requires more home productivity (Bryant 1990: 148).

The division of labour in the household

In contrast to previous economic approaches, Becker (1993) analysed the decision-making in the household in his famous work "A treatise on the family". According to his theory on the gender division of work in the household, employment decisions are mainly determined by the human capital of each household member (Becker 1993). The household has to decide how its members can efficiently allocate their time to either work in the market or the household. The decision is jointly made by all members, since the theory assumes a common household utility function, which means that all household members are interested in maximising the utility of the household (Becker 1993: 32). Therefore, the members who have higher household-specific human capital will allocate their time to the household, and those with higher market-specific human capital will spend their time pursuing market work. Furthermore, the investments which are made in either household-specific or market-specific human capital are also dependent on the sphere in which each household member specialises (ibid.: 33f.). This means that household members with market-specific human capital will only make investments in this type of human capital, and vice versa (ibid.: 34f.).

However, as the level of education rises among women, it is increasingly likely that the two partners will have similar levels of education, and thus similar levels of market-specific human capital. Becker argued that, despite this parity, for reasons of efficiency only one member of the household will invest in both market and household capital, not both (Becker 1993: 34f.).

Another important point is that, although the economic approach is frequently said to be gender-neutral, Becker's approach is not, since he assumes that women would be more likely to specialise in the household due to their high "biological commitment" to the care of children (Becker 1993: 37), and the gender-specific socialisation of boys and girls (ibid: 40).

The problems with Becker's approach are manifold. One point of criticism is the assumption of a common household utility function, which has been questioned by many authors (Gustafsson 1991: 413; Kurz 1998: 78; Ott 1989; 1992: 19). Becker does not take into account that each individual in a couple may have different interests and that differences in power between the partners may have a strong impact on their decision-making. I will address this issue in the following section. Second, the impact of the welfare state is not considered at all. As has already been discussed, the organisation of the labour market, the provision of childcare and parental leave, as well as the obligations that are assigned to the individual, the family and the state may differ greatly between countries, and may influence individual decisions to participate in the labour market. Third, Becker's assumption that the biological differences between men and women are a major reason for the gendered division of work should be challenged (cf. Kurz 1998: 78; Ben-Porath 1982: 53). Although biological differences cannot be neglected, socio-cultural assumptions regarding differences between men and women might play a more important role in men's and women's employment, as was pointed out by Pfau-Effinger (2005), Duncan and Edwards (1997), and Duncan et al. (2003).

Bargaining approaches

Unlike the new home economics, the bargaining approach questions the assumption of a common household utility function of the couple (Lundberg and Pollak 1994, 1996, 2003; Manser and Brown 1980; Ott

1989, 1992). In this approach, it is assumed that each partner tries to maximise his own utility, and that a couple allocates the tasks according to the resources each of them brought into the relationship (Shelton and John 1996). Bargaining models can be cooperative or non-cooperative. In the cooperative bargaining model, the total household utility function is a function of the two individual functions of both partners. Within the non-cooperative model, the utility of one of the partners dominates the other (Dribe and Stanfors 2009; Lundberg and Pollak 1996; Manser and Brown 1980).

It is further assumed that housework is an unpleasant and negative set of tasks which each individual wants to avoid. Therefore, each partner uses his/her resources for the negotiation process. The individual with the resources which are of higher value in the labour market—particularly education, earnings and prestige—will be more successful in the negotiations to avoid household labour (Ott 1989: 101; Brines 1993). In line with Becker's assumptions, it can be derived from the bargaining approach that the partner with the higher human capital will work in the labour market, while the one with the lower endowment of human capital will engage more in housework and childrearing.

The two economic approaches, the new home economics and the relative resources approach, presume that housework and childcare can be subsumed under household labour. This is very disputable, since housework is usually regarded as an unpleasant duty, whereas investing time in parenting might be considered a more rewarding task. Highly educated parents in particular might be more concerned about their children's cognitive abilities, and may therefore want to spend more time with them (Craig 2006; Yeung et al 2001). Several researchers have suggested that the two tasks should be distinguished conceptually (Craig 2006; Deutsch et al 1993; Mannino and Deutsch 2007; Sundström and Duvander 2002). This aspect is very important,

since it points to the fact that it is not only economic resources which determine mothers' and fathers' employment behaviour, but also other factors, such as preferences, gender relations and conceptions of "appropriate parenthood" that are dominant in a culture (Pfau-Effinger 2005).

In general, the economic view of employment decisions can be seen as quite restrictive, since the focus is mainly on human capital as the determinant of labour market decisions. However, there are approaches that integrate welfare state regulations and provisions, such as childcare and maternity and parental leave regulations, into economic theory.

The economic framework and social policies

The provision of maternity/parental leave

In economic theory, leave opportunities provided by the welfare state and parents' employment behaviour have mainly been examined within discussions on the effects of leave on mothers' earnings and the duration of their time out of the labour force after childbirth (Klerman and Leibowitz 1997; Waldfogel 1997). Maternity and parental leave usually include job protection. Although maternity and parental leave regulations exist in all European countries, arrangements regarding the length of leave and the entitlement to compensation while on leave vary greatly.

In general, it is assumed that maternity and parental leave regulations may have positive or negative effects on women's labour supply (Klerman and Leibowitz 1997). On the one hand, highly educated women who would return to the labour market shortly after childbirth due to high opportunity costs if there was no leave might take a longer break from employment. For those who would have exited the labour market because of low opportunity costs, the chance to take leave may

encourage them to stay attached to the labour market (Hofferth and Curtin 2006: 79). Furthermore, it can be assumed that the arrangements around maternity and parental leave benefits strongly determine the length of leave.

Although the economic theory is not clear about the influence of maternity and parental leave on the labour supply, the existing empirical studies, most of them on the US, have generally found a positive influence on women's labour market participation (Hofferth and Curtin 2006; Waldfogel, Higuchi and Abe 1999, Waldfogel 1999). The economic literature has not been very concerned with men's labour supply after becoming fathers, though. Men's employment patterns after having children have instead mainly been discussed in the context of bargaining approaches.

Childcare

It is important to note that the labour supply of young parents is not only dependent on maternity and parental leave regulations, but also on the affordability and availability of childcare. Childcare and its effect on women's labour supply has mainly been discussed within the neoclassical economic framework, which focuses on its costs (Heckman 1974; Connelly 1992; Blau and Robins 1988). In general, childcare costs are regarded as a tax on a woman's actual wage. Several studies have found a negative effect of childcare costs on women's labour force participation (Blau and Robins 1988; Ribar 1992; 1995). In the model on childcare costs and women's labour supply, the welfare state might intervene by providing childcare subsidies that operate as an equivalent to a wage change (Heckman 1974: S137).

However, the assumption in the model is that a functioning market exists in which childcare can be purchased (Heckman 1974: S159). This assumption does not, however, hold true in Germany, where

childcare is mainly publicly provided; or in Great Britain, where the market plays a greater role, but has largely failed in the provision of childcare (Land and Lewis 1998). Thus, Kreyenfeld and Hank (2000) have argued that in welfare systems such as that of Germany, the availability of childcare plays a more important role than the affordability.

To sum up, welfare state policies, such as the right to use parental leave, an adequate parental leave benefit and the provision of affordable childcare have an influence on the opportunity costs of each partner and can, thus, influence bargaining processes on employment decisions within a couple.

2.3 Summary

Two main theoretical approaches to analysing the employment behaviour of parents have been discussed: the welfare state approach and the economic approach. Welfare state approaches (Esping-Andersen (1990, 1999; Lewis and Ostner 1994; Sainsbury 1994) focus on the influence of different welfare regimes on the stratification and the distribution of tasks between individuals, the family, the market and the state. Esping-Andersen (1990, 1999) in particular has argued that welfare regimes systematically shape the labour market through regulations for leave, the provision of services like childcare, the availability of part-time work and the design of the tax system. It has been argued that the different welfare regimes establish certain incentives or disincentives for specific models of the family and specific employment patterns of parents, particularly mothers, through these mechanisms. Feminist scholars (Orloff 1993, 1996; Lewis and Ostner 1994; Sainsbury 1994) have criticised mainstream welfare state research for not sufficiently incorporating the influence of the welfare state on gender relations into their analysis. A number of different typologies have been proposed along different dimensions to analyse different welfare

state models and how they affect men's and women's roles in the society. All of them have their advantages and disadvantages. Most of them have not considered state-socialist countries before or after the transformation process, which is a drawback for the analysis of eastern Germany (Schmitt and Trappe 2010).

While welfare state researchers of the 1990s (Esping-Andersen 1990, 1999; Lewis 1992; Lewis and Ostner 1994; Sainsbury 1994) discussed different regime types and the strength of the male breadwinner model, over the past decade some scholars have debated whether there has been a shift towards an adult worker model in social policy (Lewis 2011; Daly 2011; Rüling 2007; Leitner 2003). They have, for example, argued that there has been a change in social policy assumptions regarding the "ideal" family employment pattern. Whereas in the postwar welfare state, social policies assumed and supported the male breadwinner model; in both Great Britain and Germany, a policy shift towards the assumption that all capable adults will be active in the labour market has been observed over the past decade. The problem is that this shift towards the adult worker model is ambiguous, since there are still social policy fields that assume a male breadwinner model; e.g., the social benefit system in both Great Britain and Germany, as well as the German tax system. Critics of the adult worker model have argued that, while the question of whether a shift towards this model is occurring has not been settled, there has been a shift towards more individualising (or defamilialising) elements of social policy, and some familialising social policies have been introduced at the same time. Daly (2011) argued that these ambiguities are intended by the welfare state, as families are to be consolidated as a source of stability and social integration in times of social change, and as "new" social problems arise as a consequence of changing family forms (Daly 2011: 18).

The discussion on the adult worker model emphasises an issue that

has been ignored in previous welfare state approaches: the question of whether a very high level of defamilialisation among women is practicable in a welfare state. In earlier approaches, particularly in Esping-Andersen's work, but also in feminist scholarship, the focus had been on *women's* defamilialisation by the state, while the role of men in the family and the question of how men can contribute to care had been comparatively neglected. This has partly changed in the meantime. In his latest work, Esping-Andersen (2009) emphasised the importance of changing male roles for overcoming gender inequality.

Additionally, the questions of how much defamilialisation is possible, and to what extent people want to become defamilialised, should be asked. It might be an illusion to assume that if the welfare state provides as many defamilialising services as possible, all women will participate in the labour market. Norms and values influence people's perceptions about the distribution and sharing of tasks between the genders, generations, the state and the market. This has been the argument made by proponents of the cultural approach. They have criticised welfare state research for assuming that individual behaviour is clearly determined by welfare state policies. They have also argued that culture has to be taken into account in the analysis of parents' employment behaviour, since it has an important impact on people's decisions, and might change the influence of welfare state policies on individuals and certain social groups (Pfau-Effinger 2005; Duncan and Edwards 1997; Duncan et al. 2003). However, there are no clear statements about the cultural values and attitudes of different social groups. I have therefore drawn on Inglehart's theory on value change in observing that the highly educated are more likely than those with less education to support postmaterialist and gender egalitarian values.

The question is how the incentives and disincentives established by the welfare state translate into individual behaviour. Strohmeier (2002, 2008), who concentrates on family policy and its influence on fertility,

has argued that policies can be regarded as a frame for biographic options, but not as a clear determinant for decisions. I have, however, argued that since there is a difference between fertility and labour market decisions with regard to their reversibility, there might be also a difference with regard to their susceptibility to influence; meaning that labour market decisions might be easier to influence by policies than by fertility decisions.

Furthermore, I have drawn on economic theory to investigate how welfare state measures are included in this explanatory framework. Becker's economic approach regards the individual human capital of each partner in a couple as important in determining the common decision on the employment attachment of the woman and the man. In contrast to this approach, bargaining theories assume that employment decisions have to be negotiated because both partners would rather work in the labour market than in the household. From both theories it can be derived that the partner with the higher qualification will generally work in the labour market, although Becker assumes a higher biological commitment of women to the care of their children.

With regard to the influence of the welfare state, economic theory has been applied to welfare state measures, such as the provision of childcare subsidies or maternity and parental leave, and their effects on women's labour supply. Scholars have argued that childcare subsidies or the provision of maternity leave rights and pay reduce people's opportunity costs and may increase their labour supply. However, in the field of childcare, a functioning market is assumed, which is not the case for either Germany or Great Britain.

It is clear that labour market decisions are quite complex, and are influenced by the human capital of each individual and of his or her partner, as well as by welfare state regulations. Culture and attitudes might shape the influence of the welfare state on certain social groups in different ways.

To answer the question of whether the British and the German welfare state policies have shifted from a male breadwinner model towards some form of an "individual" or "adult worker model", but with some familialising elements, as Lewis (2001) and Daly (2011) have suggested, the institutional regulations have to be investigated in detail.

3 The contexts of mothers' and fathers' employment in Great Britain and in eastern and western Germany

As was discussed in the previous chapter, the welfare state setting is generally considered to have a major impact on employment decisions. The regulations regarding employment and unemployment, welfare state benefits, the tax system and parental leave and childcare policies can create positive or negative incentives to enter or leave the labour market. If the welfare state policies provide for a form parental leave that has a low level of income compensation, it is more likely that women will use the leave if there is still a considerable gender wage gap, and if the gender arrangement of the welfare state assumes that mothers are the main carers. Furthermore, if the potential length of the parental leave is long and childcare availability is low, women may be more likely to take longer periods of leave. Whether public childcare is available on a part-time or a full-time basis may also shape a woman's decision to take part-time and full-time employment. Additionally, tax systems can influence couples' labour market decisions by either taxing them individually or by granting "housewife bonuses" in joint taxation systems, which tends to support the male breadwinner model.

With regard to the questions that are addressed in this work —namely, (1) whether the policy changes in Great Britain and Germany represent a shift towards the adult worker model at the policy level, and (2) whether these changes in welfare state policies have led to a change in the employment behaviours of parents—it is important to understand whether the individual social policies are moving towards a potential adult worker model, or if the trend is rather ambivalent, as critics of the adult worker model have suggested (Daly 2011; Rüling 2007; Leitner, Ostner, Schratzenstaller 2004).

In this chapter, the institutional context of parental employment in Great Britain and the two parts of Germany will be discussed. The social policies that are generally considered to have an effect on parents' employment decisions are described. Section 3.1 outlines the foundations and basic principles of the German and the British welfare states. Section 3.2 reviews the labour market policies and section 3.3 looks at the leave systems (maternity, parental and paternity leave) of the two countries. Section 3.4 describes the childcare provision in Great Britain and in the two parts of Germany and section 3.5 outlines additional regulations, such as those that deal with maintenance after divorce and death of a spouse.

It has been argued that the cultural constructions regarding parenthood and childhood that are prevalent in a society affect the dominant earner-carer model in two main ways. On the one hand, they influence the existing social policies, but on the other hand they shape attitudes about "right" and "wrong" behaviour within the population. Therefore, in section 3.6, I examine which employment arrangement is regarded as best for childless women and women with children among the British and the eastern and western German populations, and whether these norms differ between educational groups, as Inglehart's approach suggests.

At the end of this chapter, I will discuss whether the changes in social policy can be regarded as a policy shift towards an adult worker model.

As the focus of this dissertation is on the development in the 1990s and 2000s, the social policies that apply to unified Germany will be outlined. Since the East German policies were replaced by the West German institutional regulations at the point of unification in 1990, most of the existing social policies had already been in place before the German unification. Thus, when references are made to German social policies before 1990, policies that were in place in the "old"

Federal Republic of Germany are meant.

3.1 The foundations and basic principles of the German and the British welfare states

The roots of the (West) German welfare state go back to the late 19th century. Germany was the first country to introduce social insurance programmes for workers, starting in the 1880s under Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. The main goal of these measures was to socially integrate the working class, thereby averting the social and political conflicts caused by the social disadvantages members of this class experienced during the process of industrialisation, and to secure the loyalty of the working class to the monarchistic state (Frerich and Frey 1996a: 91; Rimlinger 1971: 90, cited in Daly 2000: 75). Bismarck's guiding idea in introducing this social legislation was to strengthen the state's responsibility for welfare (*"staatliches Fürsorgedenken"* (Frerich & Frey 1996a: 93)) by further developing of the poor relief that was provided by the state.

The first type of compulsory social insurance that was introduced was sickness insurance in 1883. This programme was followed by industrial accident insurance in 1884 and old age and invalidity insurance in 1889 (Frerich and Frey 1996a). In contrast to traditional forms of poor relief, workers were for the first time given an individual entitlement to social provision, and society and the state were seen as having a duty to help the individual (Winkler 2000: 250). During the following 40 years, access to social insurance was improved and consolidated. In 1927, workers were also insured against the risk of unemployment. Only employed people had access to all of these schemes, which led to the inherent maintenance and reproduction of status that has characterised the German welfare state until recently.

A social assistance programme for those not entitled to social insur-

ance benefits was established in 1924 (and was re-established in 1962 (Adema, Gray and Kahl 2003). This means that two main schemes for two separate groups of the population were created, which in turn led to the formation of two different "risk poles". While the employed had access to relatively generous social benefits, those who were not covered by social insurance received forms of assistance that provided only for their basic needs, and that were more restrictive and were associated with disciplinary intervention (Daly 2000: 75). Unlike in Britain, the main goal of the German welfare system has been income and status maintenance, rather than poverty alleviation (Daly 2000: 74). These measures established the structure of the benefit system which was in place for many decades (except during the National Socialist era), and which was not reformed until the 2000s.

A key characteristic of the German welfare system is the principle of subsidiarity, which has its roots in Catholic social teaching. It defines how individuals and families are supported. The focus is on self-support at the lowest possible level. The state will only provide help if the family's or the community's ability to help the individual has been exhausted (Daly 2000: 75; Jarré 1991).

In contrast to Germany, the British welfare system has been characterised by a need-based provision in which the emphasis is on poverty alleviation (Clasen 2005: 2; Daly 2000: 76). Great Britain did not introduce a social insurance scheme until the beginning of the 20th century. A national pension which was means-tested and non-contributory was first introduced in 1908. The British welfare state is, in general, dominated by a means-tested basic provision that goes back to the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601 and the New Poor Law of 1834 (Ritter 1989). The motivation in Britain for introducing a social insurance scheme was very different from that in Germany. The main aim of the introduction of social provision by the state was to deal with the spread of poverty, which was thought to have reduced national efficiency at the beginning of the 20th century; whereas in Germany

the fear of a rebellious working class was the driving force for the introduction of social insurance schemes (Daly 2000). Kaufmann, for example, has argued that the German welfare state developed mainly to address the *Arbeiterfrage*, while the British welfare state evolved to address the *Armutsfrage* (Kaufmann 1988: 15f).[11]

After the introduction of a pension scheme, a network of labour exchanges was established in 1909, and a national insurance system followed two years later. This national insurance system included protection against the risks of accidents, unemployment, as well as sickness and disability. The contributions were on a flat-rate basis, access was not means-tested, and the state contributed a major share to the funding. From the beginning, Britain favoured flat-rate benefits and a financing of benefits by taxes, instead of income-related benefits that were financed by worker contributions, as was the case in Germany. After World War II, the British welfare system was reformed based on the recommendations made in a report by the Inter-departmental Committee on Social Insurance and Allied Services headed by William Beveridge, commonly known as the Beveridge Report. The report defined the basis for the welfare state reform: namely, universality, comprehensiveness and adequacy of the benefits. The idea was to provide adequate protection against the risks of sickness, unemployment and old age. The flat-rate benefits were to be financed by employer and employee contributions, and were meant to guarantee a minimum living standard. The tax-financed social assistance was meant to be of minor importance. Furthermore, the Beveridge Report recommended creating a tax-financed national health insurance system, as well as the expansion of the educational system and of housing opportunities. The central idea of the whole Beveridge plan was the

[11] "*Arbeiterfrage*" could be translated as "labour question". The term refers to the issue of the problematic living and working conditions of workers during the industrialisation process, and how to address these problems. The fact that it is difficult to find an adequate English translation for *Arbeiterfrage* shows that the topic has not been discussed as intensively in Great Britain as in Germany or France. "*Armutsfrage*" can be similarly translated as "poverty question".

formulation of an economic policy that was based on full male employment (Daly 2000; Ritter 1989; Schmid 2002). Based on the recommendations made in the report, Britain passed the National Insurance Act, the National Health Service Act (both in 1946) and the National Assistance Act (1948) after World War II, which are still in place today. However, there have been several reforms since the 1960s that were intended to deal with the emergence of "new social risks" that developed due to social, economic and demographic changes (Taylor-Gooby 2004). In the 1980s, the Thatcher government oversaw quite severe cuts to benefits. After New Labour came into office in 1997, they undertook a comprehensive welfare state reform designed to address these new social risks that was based on a "Third Way" policy approach (Taylor-Gooby and Larsen 2004).

Regarding the support of families, it is generally argued that Britain did not have an explicit family policy for many decades (Clasen 2005; Daly 2010; Finch 2008; Hantrais 1994; Lewis and Campbell 2007). While West Germany followed a "more diversified policy path" (Daly 2000: 79) in family policy by providing cash transfers and tax reliefs, paid and unpaid parental leave, as well as public childcare, Britain followed the "anti-poverty logic" (ibid.) by mainly supporting low-income earners with children. In Britain, cash transfers have been dominant, parental leave did not exist before 1999, and the provision of childcare was very limited before New Labour implemented a National Childcare Strategy. State interventions were only regarded as necessary "in cases of need or crisis" (Daly 2010: 433).

In West Germany, the aim was clearly to differentiate the family policy from the policy in the National Socialist era, and also from the family policy in East Germany. Therefore, population policy remained a taboo in West Germany. The family was regarded as a private matter that the state should to stay out of (Leitner, Ostner and Schmitt 2008). Marriage in connection with the male breadwinner model, and later the modernised male breadwinner model, was actively promoted. In

contrast, East German family policies actively supported and even required maternal employment for economic and ideological reasons (Obertreis 1986; Trappe 1995).

When the New Labour government came into office in Britain in 1997, it started to extend policies that focused on the reconciliation of employment and family by extending leave regulations, investing in childcare and improving the flexibility of work schedules (Daly 2010; Lewis and Campbell 2007). However, some authors (Daly 2010; Lewis and Campbell 2007) have argued that the motivation for this policy change was not to improve equality, but rather to move towards a "functional family policy" (Daly 2010: 434) which had several main goals. These goals were related to the education, care and well-being of children; the financial support of and services for families; and the employment of parents, which was in turn related to the balancing of work and family and the functioning of the family in general (Daly 2010: 434).

Like in Britain, there have been several reforms of family and labour market policies in Germany in the last decade designed to support the reconciliation of family and work and to encourage unemployed people to find work. It has been argued that this shift has mainly been driven by the demographic ageing of the society, which will lead to a shortage of labour in the future. Thus, work-family balance policies are based on the need for higher rates of female employment and of fertility.

In the following sections, these policies will be described in more detail.

3.2 Labour market policies

When we compare the British and the German labour market policy systems, we can see important differences in terms of labour market regulations, as well as in terms of social security and active labour

market policies for the unemployed. In general, the United Kingdom has a higher degree of labour market flexibility and provides less generous social security benefits than Germany (Clasen 2005, 2009; Ebbinghaus and Eichhorst 2009; Giesecke 2006). The New Labour government that came into office in 1997 continued on this policy path. While the government improved some basic employment rights, it weakened others, and there has been a strong emphasis on welfare-to-work policies that focused not only on unemployed people, but on workless people in general (Clasen et al. 2006; Nickell 2004).

Germany does, however, appear to be gradually moving towards a more flexible labour market, albeit "within the framework of the established institutions of a conservative welfare state and a coordinated market economy" (Hassel 2010: 112). This process has been characterised by a shift towards a two-tier system with insiders and outsiders. The outsiders experience more unstable conditions than the insiders. But this process has also consequences for the insiders, who have to make concessions regarding pay and work schedules to achieve employment security (Ebbinghaus and Eichhorst 2009; Eichhorst and Marx 2011; Hassel 2010).

The index of employment regulation strictness provided by the OECD[12] shows that, in general, Germany has a higher level of employment protection than the UK for both regular and temporary employment. However, the degree of employment protection for temporary employees strongly decreased in Germany between 1992 and 2007, while there has even been a slight increase in the protection of regular employees over this period. In the UK, protections for regular and temporary employees are much weaker, but this has changed very little between the early 1990s and 2007. As in Germany, the level of protection of regular employees has slightly increased (Gebel and

[12] The index on employment regulation strictness includes measures regarding mandated severance pay, requirements to negotiate over reductions in force, mandatory notice before layoffs and limitations on temporary employment contracts (OECD 2004: 103ff.)

Giesecke 2011: 19).

There are several structural reasons for a higher degree of labour market regulation in Germany. Most laws have to be approved not only by the Lower House of the federal parliament (*Bundestag*) but also by the Upper House (*Bundesrat*) that represents the 16 federal states. This leads to compromises that hamper comprehensive reforms of the labour market and the welfare system, which, for example, occurred during the passage of the *Agenda 2010* reforms in December 2003 (Hassel and Williamson 2004: 4; Wood 2001). Furthermore, the Federal Constitutional Court can intervene in the legislative process and restrict the options for reforms.

The Red-Green coalition government led by Gerhard Schröder installed a commission for *"Moderne Dienstleistungen am Arbeitsmarkt" ("Modern services in the labour market"),* which had the task of formulating recommendations for reforming the labour market system. Named after the head of the commission, Peter Hartz, the Hartz Commission proposed labour market reforms consisting of four steps (Hartz I to Hartz IV)[13], which were part of the *Agenda 2010* (Hegelich, Knollmann and Kuhlmann 2011).

The first act of the reform, or the "First act for modern services in the labour market" *("Erstes Gesetz für moderne Dienstleistungen am Arbeitsmarkt")*, or Hartz I, was mainly intended to reform the structures for the placement of the unemployed. Meanwhile, the second act, Hartz II, broadened the opportunities for marginal employment by the introduction of *Minijobs* and *Midijobs*. Hartz II also introduced a start-up grant for the self-employed and increased the number of job centres. Both acts went into effect in January 2003. The third act of the reform, which restructured the unemployment agency, went into effect one year later. The fourth step of the reform, Hartz IV, went into effect in January 2005. Of the reforms, Hartz IV garnered the most pub-

[13] For a detailed overview on the Hartz reforms, see Schmid (2007).

lic and media attention, and was very hotly debated (Schmid 2007). It represents a major shift from the insurance principle of the German welfare state to a flat-rate principle for the long-term unemployed and for those not covered by unemployment insurance.

3.2.1 Macro-economic conditions in Germany and Great Britain

Germany

West Germany's economy had been characterised by continuous growth in the post-war period. In the first two decades after the end of World War II, West Germany experienced a rapid increase in its gross domestic product. The annual growth rate averaged 8.2% in the first decade. Thereafter, the economy grew more slowly, but expanded steadily over the years, albeit with some cyclical upturns and downturns in 1967, 1975 and 1982. From the 1970s onwards, economic growth slowed again but the GDP continued to increase. In the 1980s, the growth rate of the GDP averaged 2.6%.

After East and West Germany were united in October 1990, Germany's economy grew even more slowly. Although the unification of the two parts of the country created a new market for western German products, the majority of the East German enterprises collapsed because they could not compete with the products from western Germany. Thus, the unification process was quite costly for Germany. The investments in infrastructure, the subsidies for companies and the social transfers were significant burdens on the budget. Economic growth slowed, falling to 1.9% in 1992 and to -1% in the downturn of 1993. Although the growth rate increased in the following year to 2.5%, between the mid-1990s and mid-2000s economic growth was quite weak. The growth figures in the early 2000s were also low: 1.4% in 2002, 1% in 2003 and 1.4% in 2005. Additionally, very high unem-

ployment had become a major problem, particularly in eastern Germany. In 1991, 7.3% (East: 10.2%, West: 7.3%) of the labour force were unemployed, but by 1997 this figure had risen to 12.7% (East: 19.1%, West: 10.8%). After a slight decrease during the following years, unemployment increased again in 2002 and reached a level of 11.6% (East: 20.1%, West: 9.4%) in 2004, one year before the implementation of the fourth step of the Hartz reforms. With the implementation of the Hartz IV reform in 2005, unemployment increased to 13% (East: 20.6%, West: 11%), but it decreased thereafter, reaching a level of 8.7% (East: 14.6%, West: 7.2%) in 2008.

Great Britain

Like West Germany and the other European countries, the United Kingdom experienced economic growth after World War II, although the growth was not as strong as it was elsewhere, and Britain was overtaken by many European countries during this period (Crafts 2002). The annual growth rate averaged 2.9% between 1960 and 1973, when the first oil crisis hit the Western economies. Growth turned negative in 1974 and 1975. Unemployment was on the rise during this period, reaching a rate of almost 6% in 1978. When Margaret Thatcher took office in 1979, she started a new economic policy that was characterised by privatisation and deregulation, as well as a reform of the industrial relations (Crafts 2002: 84f.). In the early 1980s, Britain experienced a recession with a sharp increase in the unemployment rate, which rose to 12% in 1984. However, the British economy experienced a boom in the subsequent years, with annual growth rates of between 4% and 5% in the late 1980s, and unemployment decreased substantially. While other countries entered an economic downturn in 1989, the UK continued to grow until late 1990. Economic growth was negative in 1991 and was quite moderate in 1992, but it had rebounded to a level of 3% by 1993. Unemployment increased

again during this period, reaching almost 11% in 1993. However, after this recession, the economy recovered with growth rates that were much higher than in Germany during the same period (OECD 2013), and unemployment again fell substantially. The positive economic trend continued after the election of Tony Blair's Labour government in 1997. Unemployment further decreased after New Labour introduced measures to alleviate it. Growth rates also continued to be quite favourable compared to those in Germany. The UK was one of the most successful economies in Europe during the period between the late 1990 until 2008, when the financial crisis severely affected the country, causing Great Britain to enter its first recession since 1991. While the recession had ended by mid-2009 in most Western countries, the British downturn lasted until late 2009.

The recession was accompanied by a sharp rise in unemployment. While in 2008 5.7% of the labour force were unemployed, the level increased to 8.1% one year later (Office for National Statistics 2013).

3.2.2 Employment regulation and employment protection

Germany

In terms of employment protection, German law provides quite high levels of dismissal protection for employees with regular contracts, and these regulations have been defended by trade unions and the worker wings in the two big parties (Social Democratic Party and Christian Democratic Party) over time (Ebbinghaus and Eichhorst 2009). The changes made to dismissal protection mainly concerned the firm size threshold and the criteria for how employees can be dismissed for business reasons. Legal regulations on unfair dismissal have always been a very important source of employment protection (Giesecke and Groß 2004: 356).

Temporary employment is allowed in certain cases, such as when the need for additional labour arises, during vocational training, when permanent staff needs to be replaced or a specific task has to be performed, when only temporary funding is available for a position, or when the trial period of an employee needs to be expanded. Fixed-term contracts are regulated by the *Teilzeit- und Befristungsgesetz (Part-time and Term-limitation Act)* (Ebbinghaus and Eichhorst 2009: 124). Currently, fixed-term employment without a valid reason is only possible for two years, and can only be extended with a valid reason, but there are also exceptions due to collective agreements. During the fixed-term contract, employees have the same rights as employees with unlimited contracts.

The regulation of employment at temporary work agencies has been reduced over the years. Individual postings were restricted to a certain time (three months until 1985). This limitation was extended several times between 1985 and 2002 until it was finally abolished in 2003 (Ebbinghaus and Eichhorst 2009: 124). Agency work has increased in Germany since the 1970s (Schäfer 2009). Especially since the late 1990s there has been a considerable increase. While in 1996 0.4 % of all employees in Germany were agency workers, the share increased to 0.9 % in the year 2000, and 1.9 % in 2008 (CIETT 2009: 23; 2013: 31). However, compared to the United Kingdom, where the proportion of agency workers was 4.1% in 2008, but also other countries, such as the Netherlands (2008: 2.%), the share is still lower in Germany. Legally, agency workers are entitled to the same wages and employment conditions as regular employees.

In the 1990s and particularly the 2000s, marginal employment has become increasingly important in Germany. These so-called *Minijobs* are often used as a flexible employment option by homemakers, students and retired people (Ebbinghaus and Eichhorst 2009). Until 1999, marginal employment had been defined via the work schedule and the income received; if the working hours did not exceed 14 hours per

week and the income was below a certain amount (in 1996: DM590 in western Germany and DM500 in eastern Germany), people were considered marginally employed. Neither the employer nor the employee had to make social insurance contributions, but a lump-sum tax had to be paid by the employer. Between 1999 and 2003, the employee could earn up to €325 per month and the employer had to pay social contributions of 22% of the earnings for health and pension insurance. Under the Hartz II reform, new regulations regarding *Minijobs* were introduced in 2003. The working time limitation of less than 15 hours per week was abolished and the income threshold was increased to €400. The lump sum the employer had to pay for social contributions, and, from this point onwards, for income tax, increased to 25% of the wage. To combat illegal employment within private households, a new regulation was introduced under which a private household had to pay a reduced social contribution of only 10% of the employee's earnings. Whereas between 1999 and 2003 social contributions and a lump-sum tax also had to be paid for *Minijobs* that were second jobs, this rule was abolished in 2003, which led to a sharp increase in secondary *Minijobs* (Ebbinghaus and Eichhorst 2009: 125). From 2006 onwards, employers had to pay about 30% of the earnings for social contributions for *Minijobs* (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2007). The Hartz II reform of 2003 also introduced the so-called *Midijobs*, or jobs with earnings of between €401 and €800, for which reduced social contributions on a sliding scale had to be paid by the employer and the employee (Rudolph 2003).

The proportion of employees with a *Minijob* is higher in western Germany than in eastern Germany, while the share of employees with a *Midijob* is higher in eastern Germany. There are strong gender differences among the employees who hold a *Minijob* or a *Midijob*. Of the female employees who pay social contributions, 6% hold a *Midijob,* while the proportion is only 1.6% among male employees. Among those who hold a *Minijob,* the gender gap is even bigger.

There are 27.5 women with a *Minijob* to 100 female employees who pay social insurance contributions, compared to a ratio of only 11.3 to 100 among men (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2007: 11).

Not only has short part-time employment supported by the increasing earnings thresholds for *Minijobs* over the years, but part-time employment in general has been made easier. In 2001, the *Teilzeit- und Befristungsgesetz* introduced a right to work part-time for employees in firms with more than 15 workers (Schmidt 2001).

Since self-employment is not regulated by labour law, it can be regarded as more flexible. The Red-Green coalition government introduced regulations designed to restrict bogus self-employment (self-employed peopl who work for only one client or who perform tasks similar those done by regular employees) in 1999, but these were repealed in 2003. At the same time, new self-employment businesses started by unemployed persons were subsidised (so called "*Ich-AGs*"). Additionally, the requirement that craftsmen have a certificate was abolished for some professions (Ebbinghaus and Eichhorst 2009: 125).

Great Britain

The United Kingdom has the lowest levels of employment regulation and protection in Europe (Clasen 2007, 2009; Giesecke and Groß 2004). Britain introduced employment regulation and protection policies in the 1960s and 1970s when the International Labour Organization (ILO) recommended that employment security should be improved. However, part-time employees and those with fixed-term contracts were excluded from unfair dismissal and redundancy pay legislation (Clasen 2009). At this time, employment rights were regarded as the basis for collective bargaining. Thus, unlike in Germany, in Britain collective bargaining agreements have been more important for employment protection than legal regulations (Giesecke and Groß

2004: 357). However, collective labour law was weakened by legislation under the Thatcher government. For example, compulsory trade union membership, wage floors and the intervention in trade union issues were abolished. Additionally, in 1980 the Employment Act weakened protections against unfair dismissal. The 1986 Wages Act reduced the scope of the wage councils until they were finally abolished in 1994 (Clasen 2009). Due to this weak degree of employment security, more than half of all part-time employees and 29% of full-time workers were not protected against unfair dismissal at that time.

The New Labour government improved certain employment rights after taking office in 1997. Regarding dismissal protection, the qualification period for a claim of unfair dismissal or redundancy payment was reduced from two years, as the Thatcher government stipulated in 1985, and again to one year in 1999 (Giesecke and Groß 2004: 357).

Furthermore, in April 1999 a national minimum wage was introduced at a rate of £3.60 per hour. It has been increased several times, and stood at a rate of £5.73 in 2008 (Inside Government 2013; Nickell and Quinitini 2002: 216). Although critics of the minimum wage have argued that setting a wage floor might reduce employment overall as firms offer fewer jobs, studies have shown that this has not been the case in Britain (Brewer and Shephard 2004; Metcalf 2008).

Additionally, the rights of parents have improved considerably by the introduction of parental leave in 1999 and the right to request flexible working hours. The rights of part-time workers were also improved, as were the rights of workers engaged in disputes with their employers following the passage of the Employment Act 1999 and the Employment Act 2002 (Clasen 2009: 82).

However, some employment rights were weakened under the New Labour government. For example, the Employment Act 2002 reduced the chances that would succeed in claims of unfair dismissal (Clasen 2009: 83).

In general, employment legislation provides only a minimum level of employment security, which is usually supplemented by voluntary rights, such as through redundancy pay provided by the employer.

Unlike in Germany, where disputes about unfair dismissal are usually decided by courts, in Britain the Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS), as well as employment tribunals, are responsible for the settlement of disputes regarding dismissal, redundancy or discrimination (Clasen 2007, 2009).

The United Kingdom did not have any legal regulations regarding temporary employment until 2002, which made recurrent renewals of employment contracts possible. The *Fixed-term Employees (Prevention of Less Favourable Treatment) Regulations 2002* provide protection against these permanent renewals of fixed-term contracts (Giesecke and Groß 2004: 358).

Although fixed-term employment is a way to deregulate the labour market and an opportunity for employers to react more flexibly to a fluctuation in the demand for labour, this flexibility also entails certain socio-economic risks for employees (Giesecke and Groß 2004; Giesecke 2006). For both the UK and Germany, wage penalties as well as an increased likelihood of negative effects on the career trajectory have been found among fixed-term employees (Giesecke and Groß 2004).

Studies have also been shown that temporary employment is not equally distributed among the working population. The risk of holding a temporary employment contract is high among both low-skilled and high-skilled workers in Germany and in the UK, which shows that temporary employment is used for different purposes in different segments of the labour market (Gebel and Giesecke 2011: 28).

Between 1992 and 2007 in Germany, the risk of holding a temporary employment contract or of becoming unemployed increased among low-skilled workers relative to workers with medium- and high levels

of education (Gebel and Giesecke 2011: 30).

The tax systems in Germany and Great Britain

Studies on welfare states and particularly on female employment have discussed the role played by different tax systems, which can create incentives and disincentives that influence individual employment behaviour. Particularly in connection with female employment, a joint taxation system of the kind that exists in Germany has been assumed to discourage married women from working (Lewis and Ostner 1994; Gustafsson 1992)

The following two sections briefly describe the taxation systems in Great Britain and Germany.

Great Britain

In Great Britain, the joint taxation of married couples existed until 1989 (Dingeldey 2001). Until then, a married man's allowance also existed, and was meant to reflect the "'responsibilities' taken on at marriage" (Adam and Browne 2011: 41). This allowance was abolished together with the joint taxation system in 1990. However, a married couple's allowance was introduced instead, and existed until the year 2000.[14] In the tax year 1993/1994, it was a sum of £3,445 (Stephens and Ward-Batts (2001: 50). Unlike the married man's allowance, the married couple's allowance could be paid either to the wife or the husband. However, in practice, it was usually paid to the male earner (Smith et al. 2003: 436).

Germany

In Germany joint taxation gives married couples the opportunity to

[14] The married couple's allowance continues to exist for people who were aged 65 or over in the year 2000.

claim their income taxes together and use a splitting system in which the splitting advantage increases with the difference in income between the partners.[15]

The system works as follows (Steiner and Wrohlich 2004). Married couples may decide whether they want to use the option of joint taxation or not. If they do not use it, they are taxed individually and do not have any advantage. There is also no advantage if couples earn the same income. If a married couple chooses the option of joint taxation, their incomes are added. The tax is applied to half of the joint income, and this amount is doubled to obtain the final tax liability of the couple. Due to the progressive tax system, the joint taxation leads to a splitting advantage for the couple. The splitting advantage is the difference between the couple's tax liability in case of joint taxation and their tax liability if they were taxed separately. The splitting advantage depends on the difference between the incomes of the partners and on the total income of the household. It increases with the difference between the incomes of the partners. Couples living in a one-earner arrangement have the highest splitting advantage (Steiner and Wrohlich 2004: 4f.). The joint taxation system with a splitting advantage creates a clear disincentive to work to second earners, which—due to the persistence of the gender wage gap and to family obligations—are in most cases women. The disincentive to the second potential earner to work or to work full-time is the result of a higher tax rate on the second income.

The joint taxation not only encourages a specific earner model—namely, the male breadwinner model or the modernised male breadwinner model—it also supports a specific living arrangement by creating a financial incentive to marry (Dingeldey 2002; Steiner and Wrohlich 2004).

Various studies have found that female employment in (western)

[15] The current form of the system has existed in western Germany since 1958 and in eastern Germany since 1990 (Frerich and Frey 1996b: 145).

Germany would increase considerably if individual taxation was applied to married couples' incomes (Caliendo, Gambaro and Haan 2009; Gustafsson 1992; Steiner and Wrohlich 2004).

Furthermore, one-earner households face a higher risk of falling into a precarious income situation than dual-earner households, since only one of the partners has to bear the risk of job loss due to unemployment or sickness (Dingeldey 2002).

In addition, as the joint taxation is not tied to the existence of children in the marriage, childless married couples also benefit from the financial privileges it confers. Since there has been an increase in the proportion of non-married unions with children in recent decades, the joint taxation system has been criticised as not taking the social reality of a changing situation of families and marriage into account (Seidel, Teichmann and Tiede 1999).

As employment careers become more unstable and the risk of unemployment increases, the one-earner model puts a strong pressure on the breadwinner, usually the men, to be solely responsible for the economic security of the family. It is questionable whether supporting a model of the family that assumes that one adult, usually the man, works in the labour market, and the other adult, usually the woman, assumes the care duties, still fits the needs and realities of a society that makes large investments in young adults' education, and will urgently need labour in the future. However, although the tax system can be regarded as very influential in setting incentives and disincentives for work, it must be viewed within the institutional framework of the welfare state, including the childcare system and the regulations on parental leave and parental leave benefits (Dingeldey 2001, 2002).

3.2.3 Unemployment protection and active labour market policies

Modern welfare states such as the United Kingdom and Germany usually provide two main forms of support for people who experience unemployment. They provide financial help by granting unemployment benefits, and they offer measures to enhance the re-entry into employment. However, the systems of unemployment protection and active labour market programmes vary between the welfare states with regard to eligibility, the generosity of benefits and the requirements that have to be fulfilled in order to receive benefits. While Germany has long been a country in which a rather passive unemployment policy dominated—i.e., rather generous financial help was provided—,the United Kingdom provided only a minimum level of support (Clasen 2009). Both welfare states have moved towards a more active system of unemployment support, with Great Britain starting to shift in this direction in the 1990s, and Germany starting in the early 2000s.

Active labour market policies have been increasingly discussed in European countries since the 1990s. After the rise in unemployment rates, it became obvious that the welfare state that had been created after World War II had difficulties in dealing with the increasing number of people claiming unemployment benefits in times of economic difficulties (de Beer and Schils 2009). Two main approaches had been followed in the 1990s: first, the (neo)liberal approach of cutting welfare state spending, which was, for example, adopted in the UK; and, second, active labour market policies in combination with a high level of unemployment benefits, which were mainly used in the Nordic countries. Since the early 2000s, the European Union has considered a combination of both approaches useful, and has implemented this dual strategy under the name *flexicurity* (de Beer and Schils 2009).

Active labour market policies are defined as all measures that seek to

bring unemployed persons back into paid employment (Calmfors 1994). They include measures such as an efficient job search process, training measures to improve applicants' skills and direct job creation, either by public employment schemes or by employment subsidies (Calmfors 1994: 8). Unemployment benefit schemes, as well as early retirement schemes or disability benefits, are often referred to as passive labour market policies (Martin and Grubb 2001).

Germany

For a long time, unemployment protection in Germany has been characterised as a passive system that aimed at status protection by granting income-related benefits (Eichhorst and Marx 2011; Esping-Andersen 1990, 1999). Although active labour market policies were integrated into the system, they had not been enforced systematically (Eichhorst, Grienberger-Zingerle and Konle-Seidle 2010: 66). In comparison to other countries, the proportion of registered unemployed has been much higher in Germany. One explanation for this is the stricter definition of the ability to work in the German regulations. While in other countries, such as the UK, the employability of non-working people is based on a more narrow definition, the medical ability to work is much more strictly defined in the German system. People are regarded as medically able to work if they can work for three hours per day. Thus, unlike in the UK, the passive labour market schemes, such as disability benefits, are rather restrictive in Germany, and do not represent an escape route out of unemployment (Eichhorst, Grienberger-Zingerle and Konle-Seidle 2010: 81; Erlinghagen and Knuth 2010).

Between 2003 and 2005 the Red-Green government under Gerhard Schröder implemented welfare state reforms within the framework of the *Agenda 2010* that were intended to create a more flexible labour market, reduce welfare benefits, and introduce more effective active

labour market policies (Dingeldey 2010; Eichhorst, Grienberger-Zingerle and Konle-Seidle 2010). The Hartz IV reform radically reformed the German unemployment protection system by putting a greater emphasis on activation and by tightening the criteria for collecting the benefit associated with an active search for work.

Unemployment benefits and activation policy before the HARTZ IV reform

Before the fourth step of the HARTZ reform in 2005, there were three different schemes for the unemployed in Germany (Eichhorst, Grienberger-Zingerle and Konle-Seidle 2010: 68f.). The first was the *unemployment insurance benefit* that was paid as an earnings-related benefit (67% for people with children, 60% for childless people) for up to 32 months. In order to qualify for unemployment insurance benefits, a person had to have been in paid employment for at least 12 months before becoming unemployed. The unemployment insurance benefit was funded by the insurance contributions of both employees and employers. The second scheme was *unemployment assistance*, which was paid after the expiration of unemployment insurance benefits. Unlike the first benefit, it was means-tested but was still earnings-related, although a lower proportion of the previous earnings was paid (57% for people with children, 53% for those without children). This benefit was granted for an unlimited period and was funded by the federal budget by taxation. Recipients of both unemployment insurance benefits and unemployment assistance were eligible to participate in active labour market schemes provided by the Federal Employment Agency. The third scheme was *social assistance,* a basic income support which, like unemployment assistance was means-tested. However, unlike unemployment assistance, social assistance was not earnings-related, but was a flat-rate benefit. It was paid to those who were not eligible for one of the other two benefits due to insufficient employ-

ment experience or due to non-availability to the labour market (e.g., women with small children). Furthermore, it was paid to those receiving unemployment insurance benefits or unemployment assistance benefits that were below the guaranteed minimum income. Social assistance was funded by the municipalities, which were also responsible for the benefit recipients' integration into the labour market. The means-testing for social assistance benefits was stricter than for unemployment assistance benefits. Although all three systems had formal elements of activation and work requirements, different practices existed for the three schemes (Eichhorst, Grienberger-Zingerle and Konle-Seidle 2010). Unlike for those receiving unemployment assistance or unemployment insurance benefits, any job was considered to be acceptable for recipients of social assistance. Recipients of social assistance were not entitled to participate in the active labour market schemes provided by the Federal Employment agency. Instead, for them the labour market policy "Help to Work", "a fairly rudimentary labor market policy" was available, which was operated "with a considerable scope of discretion" (ibid: 69). Although the basis of this activation policy was the "rights and obligations" principle, no specific provisions regarding the quality of job offers were formulated in the law, but court rulings showed that there was no protection of the former occupational status within the social assistance scheme (ibid: 69). The only reasons for not engaging in the search for work were seen in age or sickness, or single parents' duties to care for children under age three. There were also no systematic activation measures; instead people were expected to search for work individually. The success in reintegrating social assistance recipients also differed markedly between the municipalities (ibid: 69).

The activation in the unemployment insurance scheme also became stricter during the 1990s. In 1997, the principle of occupational protection—meaning that the unemployed were not obliged to accept jobs below their occupational qualifications—was revoked. Furthermore,

access to benefits was made more difficult, and the generosity of benefits was reduced. However, according to Eichhorst, Grienberger-Zingerle and Konle-Seidle (2010), the motivation behind these measures was not more effective activation, but rather financial. Nevertheless, the period before the HARTZ IV reform was rather benefit-centred and "permissive" (Eichhorst, Grienberger-Zingerle and Konle-Seidle 2010: 70).

Unlike in Britain, lone parents were not treated differently than other parents, since they were not regarded as a specific target group for welfare state policies, either before or after the reform of the benefit system in 2005 (Schwarzkopf 2009; Zabel 2011). There were several reasons for this approach. First, employment rates among lone mothers were even higher than among married mothers in western Germany, while in Britain the opposite was the case. Second, child poverty has been much higher and has thus been a much more important issue in Britain than in Germany (Bradshaw and Chzhen 2009; Jenkins and Schluter 2003). Third, the German welfare system did not grant lone mothers an additional benefit for their status as a lone parent. Thus, benefits for lone parents were not an issue in the German public and policy debate as they were in Britain (Zabel 2011).

All three unemployment schemes stipulated that parents were obliged to search for work when their youngest child reached age three, as long as childcare was available. However, in practice lone mothers who received social assistance were often allowed to stay at home for a longer time, until their child reached school age (Adema, Gray and Kahl 2003) or even until the child was 12 years old (Giddings, Dingeldey and Ulbricht 2004). The only difference was with regard to childcare. The law provided priority access to childcare for the children of social assistance recipients in order to allow the parents to start work (Schwarzkopf 2009; Zabel 2011).

The HARTZ IV reform

The Hartz IV reform, which went into effect in 2005, represented a substantial shift from the previous insurance principle towards a minimum support for long-term unemployed people and for those who were not eligible for insurance-based benefits because the previous income-related unemployment assistance was replaced by a flat-rate benefit. In addition, the whole system experienced a shift towards stronger activation (Knuth 2006; Ebbinghaus and Eichhorst 2009; Betzelt and Bothfeld 2011; Dingeldey 2010).

This "late, but broad and massive shift to activation" has been regarded as a result of the long "reform blockage" (Eichhorst, Grienberger-Zingerle and Konle-Seidle 2010: 73). Mainly due to the unification process in eastern Germany, traditional active labour market policies as job creation schemes and passive income support were used to deal with the massive unemployment in eastern Germany. Another barrier to reform had been the self-administration in the public employment service, which was interested in shifting unemployed people who were regarded as "labour surplus" to active and passive labour market schemes, as well as other benefit schemes, to take them out of the labour market (and thus out of the unemployment statistics) (Trampusch 2002).

The deficits resulting from this practice were covered by the federal government or higher contributions. This resulted in rising non-wage labour costs, which in turn hampered employment creation (Eichhorst, Grienberger-Zingerle and Konle-Seidle 2010: 74). However, although experts had recommended a reform of the active labour market policies to reduce negative incentives for taking a job, the first concrete steps to reform the system of unemployment support and activation were not taken until the beginning of the 2000s. Some pilot projects of the public employment service agencies which were orientated towards the reintegration of the long-term unemployed into the labour

market ("*Mozart initiative*") had already been started in the late 1990s. They were followed by the *JobAqtiv Act* of 2001, which, however, had only a moderate impact.

The report written by the Hartz commission (Hartz et al. 2002), an expert committee appointed by the government, was the basis for the reforms implemented with the fourth Hartz Act in 2005, which were intended to activate both the short-term and the long-term unemployed, and to reform the public employment service and the activating schemes. Activation policies in other countries, such as the UK, the Netherlands and Denmark, served as models for the Hartz reforms (Eichhorst, Grienberger-Zingerle and Konle-Seidle 2010).

The most important innovation of Hartz IV was that for the unemployed who were able to work, the unemployment assistance and social assistance schemes were replaced by the *new unemployment benefit II (Arbeitslosengeld II)* which was, like the former unemployment assistance and the social assistance, means-tested. It was not income-related, as unemployment assistance had been, but the benefit was paid as a flat rate at the level of social assistance. This was one of the most important policy shifts, since until then unemployment assistance still protected the recipient's former status.

Unemployment benefit II is paid as a lump sum that is meant to cover the living expenses of the claimants. When the new statute was introduced in 2005, the benefit amounted to €345 in western Germany and €331 in eastern Germany for a single adult (§20 II SGB II). The level of the benefit increased slightly over time, and amounted to €351 in 2008. It was also standardised for eastern and western German claimants. The benefit for a couple amounted to 90% of the regular benefit for each person. Children under age 15 received 60% and children between ages 15 and 17 received 80% of the regular benefit (§28 I 1 SGB II). In addition, reasonable costs for accommodation were paid. Lone parents did not receive higher benefits because of their status.

In terms of the integration into employment the principle of "*Fördern und Fordern"* (Support and demand) is the foundation of the new unemployment benefit II scheme (Eichhorst, Grienberger-Zingerle and Konle-Seidle 2010). The employment offices have introduced individual profiling processes, and assign the unemployed to suitable activation measures. Unemployed people who receive unemployment benefit II must sign a binding integration agreement (*Eingliederungsvereinbarung*), which stipulates the services that will be provided by the employment agency as well as the duties of the unemployed person regarding job search and training measures (Eichhorst, Grienberger-Zingerle and Konle-Seidle 2010; Jacobi and Kluve 2007). Although active labour market programmes existed before the introduction of the unemployment benefit II, a stronger emphasis was placed on these initiatives. The active labour market programmes were re-designed and new ones were created in order to reintegrate claimants into the labour market, but also to make receiving benefits less attractive and to test the claimants' willingness to work (Jacobi and Kluve 2007; Zabel 2011). Furthermore, more emphasis was also put on measures that encouraged direct integration into the labour market, instead of training measures and public job creation schemes (Jacobi and Kluve 2007: 52). The reform also included the possibility that sanctions would be applied if the benefit recipients did not behave according to the integration agreement, which usually took the form of a temporary reduction in benefits (Jacobi and Kluve 2007).

Several types of activation measures exist. There is financial help designed to help the benefit recipient during the transition into employment or self-employment. Start-up subsidies (*Einstiegsgeld)* support those who found their own business in the first period, with a supplement of social security benefits as long as the claimant's income does not exceed a certain amount. Furthermore, there are wage subsidies that are paid either directly to the employer (*Eingliederungszuschuss*) or as an income supplement to the claimant (*Einstiegsgeld für abhäng-*

ig Beschäftigte). The employer subsidies can be paid up to an amount of 50% of the wage for 12 months (Bernhard, Gartner and Stephan 2008), while the income supplement that is directly paid to the claimant can be paid for 24 months at a base rate of €175 (Haller, Wolff and Zabel 2010). However, claimants do not have an automatic right to receive start-up subsidies or wage subsidies; in most cases the case manager at the employment agency decides whether these supplements are necessary (Zabel 2011: 15). Thus, of the programmes investigated by Zabel (2011), start-up subsidies had the lowest number of participants.

By contrast, a large number of benefit recipients participate in the workfare programme *One-Euro-Job*. These jobs are usually in the public sector or non-profit sector, since the work being done has to be of public utility. Participants receive €1-2 per hour in addition to their unemployment benefit II (Zabel 2011: 14). In addition to the One-Euro-Jobs, two other direct job creation programmes were in place until 2008 that were intended to create employment opportunities for unemployment benefit II recipients outside of the regular labour market (Hohmeyer and Wolff 2010). The goal of these schemes was to reduce the number of unemployed persons in regions with high rates of unemployment, particularly in eastern Germany. There were short and long versions of these programmes, and they could last up to one year; or, under specific conditions, up to two years. Unlike holders of One-Euro-Jobs, participants receive a regular wage. While job-creation measures have been used widely in the 1990s in eastern Germany to deal with the massive unemployment, their importance decreased after the introduction of the One-Euro-Jobs until they were abolished for unemployment benefit II recipients in in 2009 (Hohmeyer and Wolff 2010).

Training measures are designed to improve the benefit claimants' skills, but are also used to test their readiness to work. There are either classroom training courses or in-firm training sessions. Both training

measures may last up to 12 weeks. Additionally, recipients also have the opportunity to apply for financial support to do further vocational training that is provided externally (Zabel 2011).

In terms of the support provided for the male breadwinner model, the unemployment benefit II scheme is ambivalent. On the one hand, the new system assumes the adult worker model by committing all of the adults in the household who are able to work to search for work (Achatz and Trappmann 2011; Betzelt 2008). This is in contrast to the requirement for receiving unemployment assistance before 2005. The new requirement that the (female) partners of unemployed persons search for work changed the employment incentives for inactive partners living in partnership that follows the (male) breadwinner model (Achatz 2009; Achatz and Trappmann 2011; Betzelt and Bothfeld 2011; Zabel 2011). In general, gender equality is specified as a basic principle in the new statute, and it has to be pursued within all processes to avoid gender-specific disadvantages (Achatz and Trappmann 2011; Institut Arbeit und Qualifikation; Forschungsteam Internationaler Arbeitsmarkt; Forschungs- und Kooperationsstelle Arbeit, Demokratie, Geschlecht 2009). On the other hand, there are also familialising elements in the new unemployment benefit II scheme. It is taken for granted that household members support each other because the entitlement of unemployed persons is dependent on the household income. In most cases, this is a partner's income, which means that if this income is too high, an unemployed person does not receive unemployment benefit II, although he/she would have been eligible to it if he/she lived alone (Zabel 2011). This is similar to the former unemployment assistance or the social assistance scheme. In addition, the strong obligations to search for work or to participate in labour market programmes can be relaxed by the case managers if people have care obligations that may be taken into account by case managers. This might, however, favour male breadwinner arrangements among couples, due to assumptions about the gender division of work that both

the claimants and the case managers in the employment offices might have (Achatz and Trappmann 2011: 7; Betzelt 2008). In practice, the new unemployment benefit II scheme still requires parents to take up paid employment or active labour market programmes provided by the unemployment agency when their child reaches age three, assuming that childcare is arranged. The regulations in the statute on the exemption from activation until the child is three years old are further specified in the instructions of the employment agency. They stipulate that within a couple, one parent has to be exempted from work until the child reaches age three. The same applies to lone parents. If the child is older but no sufficient childcare is available, claimants do not have to engage in job search or participate in labour market programmes (Achatz and Trappmann 2011: 7).

Studies have shown that different groups of claimants have been activated to a different extent (Achatz and Trappmann 2011; Schwarzkopf 2009; Zabel 2011). Children represent a barrier for women's transitions into employment, while fathers have been shown to find paid employment faster (Achatz and Trappmann 2011). A similar result has been found for the participation in labour market programmes (Zabel 2011). However, with regard to the transition into labour market programmes, differences have been found for lone mothers and mothers with a partner. Lone mothers are more likely to take part in these programmes than married or cohabiting mothers. This difference is more pronounced in western Germany than in eastern Germany, and this gap has been attributed to assumptions about the division of household labour within couples made by case managers (Zabel 2011). In terms of the duration of the receipt of benefits, it has been shown that lone mothers collect the unemployment benefit II longer than all other types of recipients. For lone mothers, reconciling their family and work obligations is particularly challenging since they are breadwinner and carer in one person. Therefore, they find it especially difficult to find work with a wage that is high enough that they no longer need

to collect benefits (Lietzmann 2010). With regard to childcare, the new unemployment benefit II regime no longer gives the children of lone parents priority in the allocation of childcare places, which might hamper the integration of lone parents into the labour market (Schwarzkopf 2009).

Great Britain

Unemployment protection and unemployment activation before 1997

Compared to the German unemployment protection system, the British system of unemployment support has always been less generous, since its roots go back to basic welfare state principle of poverty alleviation (Clasen 2005, 2009).

According to Clasen (2005: 57), three characteristics of the 1980s unemployment protection system in Great Britain distinguish it from the German system of that time. First, insurance-based and means-tested benefits were administered by one central agency, although they were funded differently, and the central government also determined the conditions of the benefits. Second, like for all of the other benefits, the unemployment support was paid out of the National Insurance Fund; there was no separate funding. The third characteristic represents a major difference between Germany and Britain, and illustrates the different welfare state principles of the two regimes. In contrast to Germany, where insurance-based benefits for the unemployed dominated for a long time, the United Kingdom took only "half-hearted" (Clasen 2005: 57) steps in this direction by introducing an earnings-related supplement in addition to the existing flat-rate benefit in 1966 (Clasen 1994). Because the benefit level had always been quite low (in 1980, 21% of average male earnings (Clasen 2005: 58)) most recipients of unemployment benefits had to claim additional means-tested benefits, such as housing benefits. The share of unemployed persons who were not eligible for earnings-related benefits, either due to an exhaustion

of the entitlement or because they did not meet the conditions, was much higher than in West Germany. These three major characteristics have been in place throughout the existence of the respective welfare states, but the generosity of benefits has even more declined over time in Britain (Clasen 2005: 57).

After the Conservative government under Margaret Thatcher was elected in 1979, the focus was on self-reliance, privatisation and a cutting of social spending (ibid: 76). In 1980, the insurance-based benefits were cut by 5%. When the earnings-related component of the unemployment benefit was abolished two years later, there were only a few protests. Clasen argues that this can be ascribed to the publicly accepted "weakly embedded notion of earnings-related contributory support within the British social policy architecture" (Clasen 2005: 77). The motivation for the policy change under Thatcher was the reduction of spending and the setting of higher work incentives by widening the gaps between benefits and income from work. The official, stated reason was, however, that the abolition of the earnings-related unemployment benefit was a return to Beveridge's flat-rate principles (ibid.).

In 1986 Income Support was introduced, which meant an additional cut in benefits for unemployed people under age 25 and a tightening of the eligibility criteria. Furthermore, labour market programmes were introduced or extended as a response to the high unemployment of the early 1980s. After Thatcher had been elected for a third time in 1987, these programmes were, however, reduced and the focus shifted from labour market training towards job search assistance, with a special focus on creating work incentives and subsidising work placements for long-term unemployed people (Clasen 2005: 78).

To summarise, activation policies with a focus on job search assistance instead of training had already been introduced in the UK in the late 1980s. In the late 1980s and the early 1990s, the criteria for bene-

fit eligibility were further tightened. For example, the requirement that the unemployed provide evidence that they were actively seeking employment was combined with sanctions against those who did not. The aim of all of those policy measures was to cut social security spending. The emphasis was on individual responsibility and providing more assistance for job search activities.

In the early 1990s, there were few changes made in the support for unemployed people. However, the principle of activation came increasingly into focus, and benefit recipients were sometimes asked to accept jobs with very low wages. The replacement rate of unemployment support had already shrunk from about 21% in 1979 to below 15% in the late 1980s, which was not regarded as a problem by the government. In general, income inequality had increased since the early 1980s, regulations through wage councils had been abolished, and the trade unions had been weakened (Clasen 2005; Joseph Rowntree Foundation 1995). This deregulation of the labour market was actively supported by employer organisations that sought to increase their competiveness by lowering the cost of labour. The decreasing unemployment benefit levels were a consequence of declining wage levels (Clasen 2005: 80).

During the recession in the early 1990s, unemployment increased, which led to a rise in social security spending, particularly for the unemployed. Clasen (2005: 80) argued that it would have been too difficult for the government to implement further cuts in unemployment support, and thus stricter conditions for benefit recipients were introduced. In addition, the level of in-work benefits for parents was raised to increase the work incentive. This measure was developed even further under the New Labour government.

In 1996, the Conservative government replaced the Unemployment Benefit and Income Support with the Jobseeker's Allowance (JSA). The reform reduced the maximum period that the insurance-based

benefit could be received from 12 to six months. Since then, JSA has been paid as a means-tested benefit after the eligibility for the insurance-based benefit had expired, or if people had not met the conditions. The means-tested Jobseeker's Allowance was conditional on the partner's employment. The claimant could no longer receive the benefit if his or her partner worked more than 24 hours per week, although earnings of £5 for single persons and £10 for couples were disregarded. These tight regulations were intended to create a potential work disincentive for the partners of unemployed persons (Bingley and Walker 2001; McGinnity 2002). Additionally, new and stricter mechanisms for encouraging unemployed people to actively seek work were introduced with Jobseeker's Allowance.

Unemployment protection and active labour market policies under New Labour

After Tony Blair's Labour government were elected in 1997, policy makers continued to follow and even accelerate the labour market policy strategy that the Conservative governments had pursued before. By the mid-1990s, there was a consensus between the parties regarding the problem of welfare dependency, and they agreed that it should be tackled with a stricter benefit regime and more supply-side labour market policies (Clasen 2005: 81).

The new government emphasised the need for a new contract between the citizen and the state that should include more "proactive" behaviour among benefit recipients, and that the government's obligation should include the provision of employment opportunities (Clasen 2005: 82). The aim was clearly to enhance the employability of the people who were out of work by providing them with training and education. The government explicitly sought to create "a new balance between 'rights and responsibilities'" (Clasen 2005: 82). The means used to achieve these policy objectives were improving training and

providing higher net incomes via wage subsidies for low-income earners.

To activate the unemployed, several New Deal programmes were introduced. They included an active labour market policy measure that aimed to increase employment by active case management (Brewer 2007). The general benefit levels were not changed, but the conditions for receiving benefits were tightened (Clasen 2005: 82). The New Deal programmes were targeted at various groups of benefit recipients, and included different rights and obligations and offered various support measures (for an overview, see Dolton and Balfour 2002).

Lone parents as a special target group within the British welfare reform

Lone parents had been one of the most important target groups for New Labour's welfare-to-work policies due to their low level of labour market attachment and high poverty rates, which had been a major public concern, and had led them to be regarded as a problematic group on the labour market and for the social security system in Britain over the last two decades. Lone mothers' levels of dependence on social benefits had been high, and their employment rates had fallen markedly since the 1970s, while the labour market participation of mothers with partners had steadily increased since that time (Gregg, Harkness and Smith 2009; Knijn, Martin and Millar 2007; Kiernan, Land and Lewis 1998). Among the goals of New Labour's reforms was to increase the employment rate of lone parents to 70% by 2010, as well as to eliminate child poverty by the year 2020 and to halve it by 2010 (Evans et al. 2003: 1).

However, this has not always been the case. With regard to social security, the reforms of the British welfare system after World War II improved the situations of lone mothers, since they reduced the dependence of unmarried mothers on their parents, and abolished the

requirement that they claim assistance in the parish of origin (Kiernan, Land and Lewis 1998: 151). Kiernan, Land and Lewis (1998) traced this back to the policy debate during that time when governments assumed full responsibility for full-time employment, and it was assumed that re-distributive policies to reduce inequalities between the young and the old, as well as between different income and household groups, were legitimate.

At this time, the increase in lone motherhood had mainly been due to divorce, while from the 1980s onwards the rising proportions of lone mothers could be attributed to the increase in cohabitation, and thus to an increase in the numbers of never-married women with children (Kiernan, Land and Lewis 1998). While in the early 1970s 18% of lone mothers were never married, this group had grown to two-fifths by the early 1990s (Kiernan, Land and Lewis 1998: 125). Poverty rates among lone parents were increasing over time. Whereas in 1998 lone parents made up 22% of all families, their share among families with children in poverty was 55% at that time (Gregg, Harkness and Smith: F38). Public attitudes and the attitudes of policy advisers towards lone parents changed with the growth of this group and their degree of welfare dependency. The political debates on lone mothers in the 1960s and 1970s were mainly about children's welfare and the reduction in inequality between men and women. Although the number of lone mothers who were dependent on social assistance (Supplementary Benefit) grew in the 1970s, the general view was still that they should be given the choice between paid employment and raising their children while receiving adequate social benefits (Kiernan, Land and Lewis 1998: 264). However, in the late 1980s, the discussion changed towards an emphasis on individual choice and responsibility in general, and especially with regard to lone mothers' welfare dependency. At this time, the discussion changed to focus on the financial responsibilities of mothers and fathers and how the costs for lone mothers and their children could be reduced for the state. In the 1990s,

the public, but also the policy discussions in Britain, were influenced by the discussion on "welfare mothers" in the U.S.[16] Kiernan, Land and Lewis 1998 (1998) and other authors (Esping-Andersen 1990; Pierson 1994) have argued that a "poor law mentality" (Kiernan, Land and Lewis 1998: 6) has persisted in the UK, which stresses the importance of personal responsibility for social security (see also Clasen 2005). While in the debates of the 1980s it was emphasised that fathers should take financial responsibility by paying maintenance, in the 1990s the focus shifted more to lone mothers' responsibility to support themselves. Therefore, ways to increase their very low employment rates were increasingly discussed (Gregg, Harkness and Smith 2009; Kiernan, Land and Lewis 1998: 241ff.; Skevik 2006).

Although the labour market participation rates of British lone parents had been low in the previous decades, unlike in other European countries, no working-related conditions for the receipt of benefits were set by the state until the New Labour government took office (Wright 2011). The British social policy system, like most other social policy systems, did not take into account the situations of social benefit recipients with family responsibilities. This can be attributed to the roots of the British welfare state as a non-interventionist welfare state that made few investments in public childcare and did little to alleviate low wages. These factors can be regarded as having contributed to the employment barriers for lone mothers (Wright 2011: 59).

One of the very first active labour market programmes introduced by New Labour was the *New Deal for Lone Parents*. However, in contrast to the compulsory programmes *New Deal for Young People* (for unemployed people under age 25) and the *New Deal for the Long*

[16] Although the discussion in Britain was not as harsh as it was in the US, lone motherhood was connected "to all sorts of social concerns" (Kiernan, Land and Lewis 1998: 15). These concerns ranged from worries about children's socialisation, in particular about their education and their potential criminality, to women's roles, particularly their employment behaviour and their sexual autonomy; as well as men's roles and their unwillingness to take financial responsibility for their children (ibid.).

Term Unemployed that were introduced in April and June 1998, respectively, the *New Deal for Lone Parents* (NDLP) has been a voluntary programme without sanctions (Brewer 2007; Evans et al. 2003; Wright 2011). It was started in 1997 as a pilot project in eight regions before it was implemented nationwide in October 1998. The target group was steadily extended to parents with younger children over the years. Initially, the programme was aimed at lone parents who received Income Support for at least eight weeks and whose youngest child was at least five years old. From May 2000 onwards the target group was extended to those whose youngest child was at least three years old. At the end of 2001, the programme was extended to all non-employed lone parents and to those who were employed for less than 16 hours (Evans et al. 2003: 5f.). Although the programme was voluntary, personal adviser meetings, in which opportunities to take part in the labour market or qualifying measures are explained, were made compulsory.

Among the first of the measures that were designed to increase the pressure to get a job was the elimination of the Lone Parent Premium on Income Support, which was paid with Income Support between 1988 and 1997, and the One Parent Benefit, which had been paid since 1977 as a supplement to the universal Child Benefit. Although these were very small extra benefits (in 1997: £6.05 and £4.95, respectively, per week) their elimination meant a more constricted financial situation for most lone parents who received benefits (Wright 2011: 64). Furthermore, Wright (2011: 64) regards this decision as a clear sign of the punitive direction in which New Labour's reforms immediately moved after the election. Wright (2011: 64) further argued that these early activation measures for lone parents were mainly based on a low-cost system of providing interviews, without offering high-quality expertise, training or qualification opportunities, that were intended to motivate clients to enter employment, mainly by taking low-paid jobs. Furthermore, the National Minimum Wage that guaranteed minimum

earnings and the in-work benefit *Working Families Tax Credit* were not introduced until 1999. The National Childcare Strategy had just begun in 1998. Therefore, in a sense, activation measures preceded supporting measures.

However, until late 2008 lone parents were not compelled to search for work until their youngest child reached age 16, and therefore they were eligible to receive Income Support, a benefit that was not tied to an active search for work (Brewer 2007). The change in this regulation can be regarded as a further policy shift towards a greater push for the labour market activation of lone parents. From late 2008 onwards, the entitlement to Income Support based on their status as a lone parents was gradually cut back. Lone parents were no longer entitled to Income Support only on the grounds of their status as a lone parent, and they had to claim Jobseeker's Allowance instead after their child reached age 12. The age limit of the youngest child at which lone parents were still eligible to receive Income Support decreased over the years (2009: 10 years, 2010: seven years, 2012: five years) (Brewer 2009; Department for Work and Pensions 2012).

In contrast to the policy shift towards the activation of lone parents, the activation and benefit policies aimed at partnered mothers created rather ambivalent work incentives. On the one hand, a programme for (usually female) partners of unemployed persons (*New Deal for the Partner of the Unemployed*, later *New Deal for Partners*) was introduced in 1999, only one year after the *New Deal for Lone Parents* had been launched, and represents a shift towards a higher activation of this group. However, since this programme was voluntary and the benefit entitlement had not been individualised, the take-up rate was quite low (Ingold 2011).

In-work benefits to create work incentives

As part of "making work pay" strategies, in-work benefits (or em-

ployment-conditional benefits) have been introduced in some European countries, including Belgium and France, and, more prominently, the United Kingdom. Germany has also introduced an in-work benefit for working parents, which is, however, less prominent. The aim of in-work benefits is to increase the work incentives of those in low-paid employment. Thus, in-work benefits are regarded central for "making work pay" strategies as they try to boost employment by making it financially more attractive, thereby alleviating poverty (Brewer et al. 2006; Fagan and Hebson 2006).

Great Britain

In the United Kingdom, in-work benefits have existed since 1971, when the Family Income Supplement (FIS) was introduced to assist parents who are in work but earn a low income. Low-income families with at least one parent who worked at least 30 hours per week, or lone parents who worked at least 24 hours per week, were eligible to receive the FIS from 1971 onwards (Blundell and Hoynes 2004). The aim of this in-work benefit was to encourage employment among low-paid people. However, the problem with this in-work benefit was that the take-up was low and that many potential recipients were not aware of its existence (Dilnot and Duncan 1992). Additionally, the eligibility criterion of working at least 24 hours a week was assumed to be too high for some lone parents, because employment interfered with their ability to care for their children. Thus, it may be expected that they would choose to receive Income Support without working (Dilnot and Duncan 1992: 7).

In April 1988, the Family Income Supplement was replaced by the Family Credit (FC). The minimum working hours were reduced to 24 hours per week, and the FC was also more generous than the FIS. Lone parents were one of the target groups of this in-work benefit. In 1990, 40% of the families who received the Family Credit were lone

parent families (Dilnot and Duncan 1992: 1). In April 1992, the number of hours that potential recipients had to work were reduced from 24 to 16 to create incentives for a bigger group of potential employees (Dilnot and Duncan 1992). The last change to the Family Credit was made in 1995, when an extra credit was introduced for those who worked more than 30 hours per week (Blundell and Hoynes 2004: 420).

In October 1999, the Labour government replaced the Family Credit with the Working Families' Tax Credit (WFTC). The WFTC was more generous than the old Family Credit since it had higher credits, especially for families with children under age 11, and the rate at which earnings above the threshold were taxed was lowered (Blundell et al. 2000). Unlike its predecessor, the new WFTC also included a generous childcare tax credit. Thus, the WFTC reached more eligible families than the former Family Credit. In late 2002, 1.4 million families received Working Families' Tax Credit, which was an increase of 70% from November 1998 (Francesconi and van der Klaauw 2007: 3).[17]

Like for the Family Credit, the eligibility criteria for the Working Families' Tax Credit were at least one employed adult in the family who works at least 16 hours per week and at least one child under age 16 or a child under age 19 in full-time non-university education (Francesconi and van der Klaauw 2007: 4). Furthermore, the eligibility depended also on the hours in employment, the number of children, income, capital and formal childcare costs (Brewer et al. 2006: 702;

[17] Another reason why the take-up rate for the WFTC was higher than for the FC were the changes in its administration and payment. Unlike the Family Credit, which was handled by the benefits agency, the tax authority administered the WFTC. Furthermore, it was not directly paid to the benefit recipient as a cash benefit, but by the employer together with the wages. The aim of these changes was to reduce the stigma attached to the receipt of social security benefits, and thus to increase the programme participation, as well as to stress the link between employment and in-work support (HM Treasury 1998: 22; Brewer et al. 2006). However, the method of paying the tax credits through the employer was stopped in 2005 (Brewer and Shephard 2004: 13).

Blundell and Hoynes 2004; Francesconi and van der Klaauw 2007: 4). The benefit was aimed at low-income families, and thus the threshold of the family income was at a rate of £90 per week in 1999[18], meaning that families with an income of this amount or lower received the maximum Working Families' Tax Credit. If their income was higher than this amount, the WFTC was reduced by the proportion (the "taper rate") of the difference between net income and the threshold. The WFTC consisted of different elements. In 1999. the following elements were paid per week, depending on the recipients' circumstances: a basic credit of £52.30, a credit of £11.05 if at least one adult worked 30 hours or more, a credit for children under age 11 of £19.85 (higher rates for older children) (Brewer et al 2006: 703). The childcare element covered 70% of the costs for formal childcare[19] up to an amount of £100 per week for one child or £150 per week for two or more children (Blundell et al 2000; Brewer et al. 2006). The paid amount of the WFTC has increased over the years.[20]

In April 2003, Working Families' Tax Credit was replaced by the current Working Tax Credit (WTC) and the Child Tax Credit (CTC). The WTC expanded the eligible group from families to individuals and also to childless couples. Similar to the WFTC. the Working Tax Credit is only payable to people working at least 16 hours per week. The Child Tax Credit can be paid additionally to WTC, and, unlike the aforementioned benefits, it is not based on employment; thus, non-employed parents are also eligible for CTC. Similar to WFTC, the WTC consists of different elements. In 2003/4, the basic element amounted to a weekly rate of £29.20. Additionally, the following elements were paid: a couple or lone-parent element of £28.80, a 30-hour element of £11.90 and a childcare element that covers up to 40% of

[18] The threshold at which families were eligible to receive the maximum tax credit was increased to £92.90 per week in 2001.
[19] Formal childcare includes registered child-minders, day nurseries and after-school clubs.
[20] See Brewer et al. (2006: 703, table 1) for a more detailed description of the change in the rates of the WFTC over the years.

costs for childcare up to a rate of £135 for one child or £200 for two or more children. The new CTC that was introduced with the WTC in April 2003 included a family element of £10.45 (double the amount in the first year after birth) and a child element for each child of £27.45. The income threshold for the WTC and the CTC were different. While the threshold at which individuals were eligible for the WTC was £97 per week, the threshold for the eligibility for the Child Tax Credit was £253.76 per week (HM Treasury 2002: 32).

The tax credits created somewhat ambiguous incentives for different groups of people. Large incentives were created for lone parents to work at least 16 hours a week. However, ambiguous incentives were established for those who previously received the FC to reduce their working hours due to the greater generosity of the WFTC relative to the FC. In addition, unlike the US policy in the 1990s the introduction of tax credits made it more difficult for families to claim benefits, even though there were no changes in the regulations regarding eligibility for benefits. Lone parents were still not obliged to work or search for work until their youngest child reached age 16 before the end of 2008 (Brewer 2009). This was very different in Germany, where the age limit of the child was age three.

However, analyses of lone mothers' labour market behaviour have shown that the introduction of the Working Families' Tax Credit had a substantial positive impact on lone mothers' entry rate into employment and the rate at which they remained in paid work, although there are substantial differences between groups of lone mothers (Francesconi and van der Klaauw 2007). In general, lone mothers' employment rate increased by five percentage points after the introduction of the WFTC (Brewer et al. 2006; Francesconi and van der Klaauw 2007). For couples with children, the tax credits created a positive incentive to have at least one parent in work, while they established a rather negative incentive for the second earner, since the benefits decrease with earnings, as the tax credits are withdrawn with increasing

income (Brewer et al. 2006: 704; Brewer and Shephard 2004: 18; Francesconi, Rainer and van der Klaauw 2009). However, it has been shown that the effect varied between different groups of married women, and was mainly dependent on their partners' labour supply and earnings. While women with husbands who had low earnings were more likely to enter employment even with young children, there was no effect among women with partners who had higher earnings. There was also no effect among married men (Francesconi, Rainer and van der Klaauw 2009).

Germany

In Germany, an in-work benefit for families, the *Kinderzuschlag (child supplement for low-income earners),* was introduced in 2005, at the same time as the new unemployment benefit II was established. The target group are parents with at least one adult in paid employment who are able to support themselves with their earned income, but who would have to apply for unemployment benefit II in order to support their children. The benefit is paid by the employment agency up to a maximum of €140 per month for each child (Rüling 2007: 30f; Wrohlich 2008). Between 2005 and late 2008, the eligibility criteria were quite complicated, particularly regarding the minimum income that was required, but also the maximum earnings that parents could earn, since they varied according to the estimated need and the housing costs of the family (Wrohlich 2008: 95). Furthermore, the benefit had been criticised for creating incentives for parents to remain in low-paid employment, since the benefit is withdrawn if the income exceeds a threshold (Rüling 2007; Wrohlich 2008). In 2008, the *Kinderzuschlag* was reformed and simplified by lowering and fixing the threshold of the minimum income that parents had to earn in order to become eligible for the benefit (€900 for couples and €600 for lone parents) (Bundesagentur für Arbeit 2013).

The *Kinderzuschlag* has been much less discussed in Germany than the Working Families Tax Credit or the Working Tax Credit in Britain. Thus, almost no research on its impact is available.

3.3 Maternity leave, parental leave and paternity leave regulations

Maternity, paternity and parental leave regulations enable parents to take a break from their jobs to care for their very young children, and have been found to increase labour market attachment, as they generally provide a job guarantee (Hofferth and Curtin 2006; Waldfogel, Higuchi and Abe 1999, Waldfogel 1999). All countries in the European Union provide some form of leave for parents, although the entitlements vary considerably. Distinctions have to be made between the three forms of leave: maternity, paternity and parental leave. *Maternity leave* can usually be taken only by the mother, and it is generally intended to be taken immediately after giving birth for health reasons. Most Western European countries have had some sort of maternity protection legislation to protect expecting mothers' health since the late 19th or early 20th century (Lewis 2009). By contrast, *paternity leave,* which is designed to be taken by the father, is a relatively new form of leave that has not been introduced in many countries. In contrast, the gender-neutral *parental leave* can be used by both mothers and fathers. In 1996, the European Union implemented the European Parental Leave Directive (Council of the European Union 1996), which required the member states to introduce a parental leave of a minimum length of three months.

Several factors are important to consider when evaluating the impact of leave regulations on maternal and paternal employment participation after the birth of a child (Bruning and Plantenga 1999). First, the duration of leave has to be taken into account. The appropriate length of leave can be regarded as a difficult trade-off between parents' and

children's welfare. On the one hand, children benefit from parental care, particularly in terms of health, as the WHO recommends six months of exclusive breastfeeding (Ruhm 2000). On the other hand, taking leave might have a negative impact on parents' (mostly mothers') careers. Studies have shown that long leaves increase women's labour market absence (Ondrich, Spiess and Yang 1996) and have a negative impact on women's pay (Ondrich, Spiess and Yang 2002; Ruhm 1998). By weakening women's labour market attachment, long leaves are thought to strengthen the gender division of labour (Hook 2006; Stier and Lewin-Epstein 2007).

Second, other aspects of leave should also be taken into account, such as whether parents have an option to move to part-time employment while on leave, the amount of time that must pass before parents can take the leave, and whether the leave can be shared between the parents. Third, leave regulations have to be assessed based on the degree of financial compensation they provide, since this greatly affects whether fathers have a real choice to use leave (Esping-Andersen 2002; Lewis 2009). Fourth, the question of whether the leave is a family entitlement or whether it includes individual entitlements to leave for each parent can have an effect on the sharing between fathers and mothers.

Great Britain

The UK is considered as a laggard regarding leave policies (Lewis 2009: 95). Leave policy had centred around mothers for a long time, and the need to facilitate mothers' labour market participation has been acknowledged by the Labour governments. Fathers' leave entitlements had, however, been neglected until 1999. Although maternity leave has been extended bit by bit in recent decades and is now the longest in Europe, a minimum, unpaid parental leave of 13 weeks was only introduced in 1999 after the government had been forced by the

European Union to do so through their directive on parental leave. In 2003, paternity leave of two weeks was introduced.

In the United Kingdom maternity leave was introduced in 1976, which included the right to return to the workplace within 29 weeks after confinement if the woman had a certain tenure with the same employer[21] and maternity pay, either statutory maternity pay (SMP) if she met the tenure requirements or a maternity allowance (MA) if tenure requirements were not met. Since the introduction of maternity leave, there have been many changes and more rights have been extended, which has expanded eligibility to include a larger group of women. In the following, the regulations that have existed since the mid-1990s will be outlined.

From 1994 to 2000, all employed women had a right to an ordinary maternity leave (OML) of 14 weeks, regardless of their tenure[22]. Additionally, women who were employed for two years with their employer were eligible for an additional maternity leave (AML) of 14 weeks. Statutory maternity pay was paid as an income-related benefit of 90% of previous earnings for six weeks and another 12 weeks were paid at a weekly flat rate of £52.50. The requirement for SMP was an insured employment contract for at least 26 weeks in the 12 months prior to the 15th week before the expected week of childbirth. Women who were not entitled to statutory maternity pay but were employed for at least 52 weeks in the previous 66 weeks prior to childbirth received maternity allowance that was paid as a flat rate of £52.50 for 18 weeks.

In 2000, ordinary maternity leave was extended to 18 weeks, and additional maternity leave ended 29 weeks after childbirth. The requirement for additional maternity leave was reduced to one year after con-

[21] The requirement was to have worked for at least two years prior to the 11th week before the expected week of confinement.
[22] The requirement of tenure was abandoned because the government was forced to implement the EU Pregnant Workers Directive in October 1994 (Gregg, Gutierrez-Domenech and Waldfogel 2003: 3 (footnote 4)).

tinuous employment. Furthermore, the flat rate statutory maternity pay was increased to £75 per week. The same rate was paid as maternity allowance for women who did not qualify for statutory maternity pay.

In 2003, both ordinary and additional maternity leave entitlements were extended. Ordinary maternity leave was extended to 26 weeks, and additional maternity leave was extended to the 52nd week after childbirth. SMP was then paid for 36 weeks, 90% of earnings in the first six weeks and at a flat rate of £106 for the remaining 26 weeks. The flat rate of the MA was raised to £106 as well.

In 2007, all women became eligible for 52 weeks of maternity leave (consisting of 26 weeks of ordinary maternity leave and 26 weeks of additional maternity leave). Additionally, the pay period of statutory maternity pay was extended from 26 weeks to 39 weeks, with the previous first weeks paid at 90% of previous earnings and the remaining weeks paid as a flat rate of £112.75. Additional maternity pay was extended to 39 weeks as well (O'Brien and Moss 2007).

In addition to the payments provided in the law, many mothers receive benefits from their employers. It is estimated that about 29% of women who take maternity leave receive additional benefits. The numbers are higher among those with higher incomes, women working in the public sector and those with unions representation in their workplaces (Smeaton and Marsh 2006).

Studies show that the extension of maternity leave in 2003 led to an increase in the length of leave taken by mothers (Smeaton and Marsh 2006). In particular, highly qualified mothers with a working partner are affected by the extension of maternity rights. They are more likely to return at the date when unpaid leave expires, whereas lower skilled mothers and those with no partner or a non-working partner disproportionately return to work when the paid leave ends (Burgess et al. 2008).

In 1999, unpaid parental leave of 13 weeks up to the child's fifth

birthday was made available to each parent if the parent had worked for at least one year. However, parental leave is not used widely in Britain. About 11% of mothers had taken some parental leave in 2005; most of them extended their maternity leave by a week. About 8% of fathers had taken parental leave. However, most of them took only very short leaves, with 75% reporting that they had taken less than a week (Smeaton and Marsh 2006). Although the leave is not paid, about 40% of parents get some sort of pay from their employers (Lewis 2009: 168).

Unlike in Germany, there is paternity leave in Britain, which was introduced in 2003. Within a period of eight weeks after the birth of their child, fathers[23] are entitled to two weeks of leave paid at the same flat rate level as the maternity pay flat rate (£112.75). To become eligible, they have to have worked for at least 26 weeks prior to the 15th week before the baby is due.

For a long time, Britain's leave system has focused on mothers only. They were regarded as the main carers for whom leave regulations had to be created. Thus, unlike other European countries, Britain did not have a parental leave scheme until 1999, when the government was forced by the European Union's Parental Leave Directive to implement a gender-neutral leave.

Germany

In Germany, only maternity and parental leave are provided. Unlike in Britain, there is no paternity leave, but in 2007 two months within the parental leave benefit scheme were reserved for the father. With this "use it or lose it" component and other restructuring measures, Germany's parental leave benefit scheme became more similar to those of the Nordic countries.

[23] Men have to be either the biological father of the child or the mother's husband or partner. In both cases, they need to expect to have responsibility for the child's upbringing (O'Brien and Moss 2007: 274).

The current German maternity protection law (*Mutterschutzgesetz*) came into force in 1952. Although several changes have since been made the basic regulations are still valid until today. However, Germany was a vanguard regarding the protection of working mothers. A law against the employment of women in factories had been passed as early as in 1878, and financial compensation during the protection period was paid starting in 1883. When the maternity protection act was passed in 1952, a protection period of six weeks before and six weeks after birth were established. In 1965, the protection period after birth was extended to eight weeks (Frerich and Frey 1996b: 112; Zmarzlik 1979).

In addition to the maternity protection period of 14 weeks, a maternity leave (*Mutterschaftsurlaub*) was introduced in 1979 which entitled women to four months of leave after the protection period of eight weeks. They were entitled to a benefit equivalent to their net income prior to birth, with a maximum of DM25 per day (about DM750 per month) (Frerich and Frey 1996b: 330). In 1984, the maximum maternity pay for this period was cut to DM510 per month (Frerich and Frey 1996b: 330).

The additional maternity leave after the maternity protection period of eight weeks after birth was discontinued with the introduction of parental leave (*Erziehungsurlaub*, since 2001 *Elternzeit*) in 1986, which gave mothers and fathers an equal right to reduce their working time in order to care for their children. A maternity leave of eight weeks after childbirth still exists and is reserved for the mother of the child. During this time, she is not allowed to work for health reasons and receives 100% of her pay.

The duration of parental leave was initially 10 months, combined with a means-tested benefit of DM600 (around €300). Since then, the length of leave has been extended several times. The last change was in 1992, when the maximum duration of leave was extended to three

years. In fact, Germany has one of the longest parental leaves in Europe, which promotes a traditional division of labour (Hook 2006). However, although the length of leave was extended in 1992, the benefit was only paid for a maximum period of 18 months since 1992 and 24 months since 1993.

Between 1992 and 2006, the duration of leave and the amount of parental leave benefits did not change significantly. The maximum duration of leave has been three years, which was combined with a parental leave benefit of €300 per month. Parental leave benefits were means-tested; i.e., benefits were reduced on a sliding scale if the couple exceeded certain income limits. Between 1986 and 1993, there was no income limit for the first six months, and the limit was €15,032 from the seventh month (Bundesminister für Jugend, Familie, Frauen und Gesundheit 1989: 32). Between 1994 and 2003, the threshold was €51,130 and €16,470 from the seventh month (Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend 2002: 74). From 2004 until 2006, the income limits were drastically reduced to €30,000 per year for the first six months (Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend 2006: 78).

Between 2001 and 2006, parents received benefits of €450 benefits per month if they reduced the benefit period to one year. If they chose the shorter benefit period, different income thresholds applied (see Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend 2002: 21; 2006: 19f).

Regarding the rights of fathers to use leave, there have been some minor changes which have made it easier for them to take leave. With the 1992 reform, it became possible for non-married fathers to take leave if the mother consented. In 2001, more flexibility was introduced, and it became possible for both partners to take leave simultaneously.

The benefit regulations until 2006 can be regarded as part of a family

policy which took for granted that women were supported by a male breadwinner after giving birth, since the financial compensation provided during leave was by hardly adequate to cover living costs. Furthermore, the low payment levels have often been cited as the reason for men's low take-up rates during the 20 years this policy was in place, since in most cases the loss of the man's income would have had greater consequence for the family income than if the mother used the parental leave (Beckmann 2001; Vaskovics and Rost 1999).

In 2007, the benefit system was reformed. Since then, parents have been eligible to receive 67%[24] of their former net income for 14 months after the birth of a child. The maximum amount of the benefit is, however, €1,800 per month. Two months are reserved for each partner; if they are not used, the couple loses them. The two months reserved for the father can only be used by the mother if she is single or in certain other special circumstances. These "daddy months," which have been in place in most Scandinavian countries since the 1990s, are new in the German parental leave system, and are intended to encourage fathers to become more involved in caring for their children (Henninger, Wimbauer and Dombrowski 2008; Leitner, Ostner and Schmitt 2008; Erler 2009). The new payment scheme encourages women to work before the birth of a child, and, due to the shorter benefit period, to return to the labour market more quickly (Spiess and Wrohlich 2008). Furthermore, it makes parental leave for fathers more attractive, since the financial compensation is better than it was before the reform.

3.4 Childcare

Regarding the provision of childcare, there are large differences be-

24 Low-income earner (less than €1,000) are eligible to receive more than 67 percent of their prior income. In 2011, the benefit was gradually reduced to 65% for individuals with a net income higher than €1,200, and individuals who had a gross household income of more than €500,000 were no longer eligible to receive the benefit.

tween the two parts of Germany and Great Britain. While East German policies had promoted a widespread expansion of childcare provision starting in the 1960s and 1970s, the focus in West Germany was more on providing childcare places on a half-time basis, mainly in order to educate less privileged children. The extension of childcare has only recently become a central topic in German family policy. In Great Britain, public childcare provision has only played a minor role; the focus was more on the private childcare market before New Labour started the National Childcare Strategy (Evers, Lewis and Riedel 2005).

External childcare is regarded as an important prerequisite for parents to combine work and family life. Many studies have investigated the impact of childcare costs on mothers' labour supply. Most of the research is on the US, and found a negative impact of childcare costs on women's employment participation (Heckman 1974; Blau and Robbins 1988; Blau and Robbins 1989; Connelly 1992; Ribar 1992; 1995). However, the underlying assumption in theses studies is that of a functioning market. For Great Britain and particularly for Germany, this assumption cannot be applied as easily, since in Germany the market plays almost no role in the provision of childcare, and in Great Britain the market can be regarded as having failed to provide sufficient services.

In both Great Britain and western Germany childcare has mainly been regarded as a private matter, and the state has offered little or no support until the 1990s. In contrast, the GDR had started to expand childcare in the 1960s with the goal of bringing all women into the labour market. Starting in the 1990s, Britain and Germany made efforts to increase the provision of childcare. One main driver were the objectives that were set by the European Union. The 2002 Barcelona European Council set clear targets for the provision of daycare. By 2010 childcare for 90 % of children between age three and school age, and for at least 33 % of children under age three should be provided (Eu-

ropean Council 2002: 12). This was was again emphasised in the revision of the Eoropean Employment Strategy in 2003 (European Commission 2003).

In the following section the development of the childcare systems will be outlined.

Great Britain

In general, childcare in the UK is characterised by a "mixed economy of public, private and voluntary provision" (Land and Lewis 1998: 51; Lewis 2009: 154). This means that, apart from informal care, the voluntary and the private sector have always been important providers of care. Unlike in Germany, the private childcare market has always played a significant role, and has been supported by neo-liberal strategies of marketisation from the late 1980s (Land and Lewis 1998).

After World War II, about half of the nurseries that were created by the state during the war when women were needed as workers were closed down in a short time. Day nursery places were only intended for children in "special need" (Randall 1996). Instead, employers were urged to create part-time jobs for women to enable them to combine their employment with their care obligations for children (Land and Lewis 1998: 65), and mothers were assumed to make informal care arrangements. While the general attitude towards childcare was that pre-school children should stay at home with their mothers, experts recommended day care for children who were "at risk" or were from one-parent families. In the following years, the number of private nurseries and childminders increased due to the growing number of employed women.

Social policy discussions about poverty and the impact of education on human development led to a renewed interest in nursery education (Randall 1996: 177). In 1972, the expansion of nursery education to all three- to four-year-old children by 1982 was announced in a white

paper by the Department of Education, led by Margaret Thatcher. However, before these plans could be realised, they were abandoned due to cuts in public expenditure from 1974 onwards.

Randall (1996) has cited two reasons for the low childcare provision after the Second World War. First, there was no effective childcare lobby on the demand side, although some groups started to work in this direction in the late 1970s. Second, on the supply side the responsibility between the central government and the local government was fragmented. This fragmentation has characterised the British childcare system from the beginning until today. The central government acts only as the provider of funding, whereas the local governments are responsible for the organisation of childcare (Evers, Lewis and Riedel 2005). The underlying cause of this fragmentation is also the issue of the responsibility for childcare in a welfare state. In a liberal welfare state like Great Britain, interventions in the family are regarded as undesirable, and they need to be justified carefully (Randall 1996: 179). A second important characteristic is the separation of education and care. While the health and welfare departments have been responsible for nurseries, the department for education has been in charge of early years education.

During the Thatcher government in the 1980s, a pronounced shift in the official emphasis towards private provision took place. An exception was only made for children in need, for whom public childcare facilities should be provided. There were initiatives for the general provision for children under age five, but the schemes remained short-term and mainly focused on pump-priming funding of private provision.

Although Margaret Thatcher advocated the expansion of nursery education when she was minister for education in 1972, during her years as a prime minister she did not further promote it. As a result of the shift from state provision to voluntary and private provision, day care

places provided by local authorities decreased, while the number of child-minders and private nurseries increased.

However, a national childcare lobby, consisting of academics, child-centred professions, local authority associations, feminist groups and also trade unions, was growing. Their arguments for the need of childcare no longer focused only on socially disadvantaged "children in need," but also on the provision of childcare to enable mothers to work. Within the other two major parties, the Liberal Democrats and the Labour Party, the focus was also put more on the issue of childcare.

At the end of the 1980s, demographic change was also a driver for the discussion about the provision with childcare. The argument was that, due to the decline in school leavers and hence a shortage of labour, mothers of young children in particular would be needed in the labour market. This discussion led to an increasing interest among employers in this topic, and the childcare lobby received a boost (Randall 1996: 183). However, although the needs of working mothers were increasingly acknowledged, the aversion to state public expenditure on "private matters" as childcare was higher than before.

Under the conservative Major government, the childcare issue came back on the agenda, mainly in the context of the needs of working mothers and the associated issue of gender equality. There was also a desire to address the problem of welfare state spending on lone mothers (Randall 1996). The government established initiatives to encourage women with young children to enter employment in order to avoid poverty (Evers, Lewis and Riedel 2005). In 1990, tax relief was offered to employers who provided workplace childcare. Generous discounts for childcare costs were offered in the Family Credit, which was introduced in 1992.

In 1996, the Conservatives implemented a voucher scheme. First introduced as a pilot project in four local authorities, it was to be ex-

tended in 1997. Parents received a voucher of £1,100 for their four-year-old children. This amount covered the costs of a part-time place, but not of a full-time place (Land and Lewis 1998). The idea behind the voucher system was to further support competition in the independent sector, and thus to promote a mixed economy in childcare provision. The voucher was valid for playgroups, nursery schools and classes or other forms of early education. However, child-minders were excluded, since they mainly provided care rather than education (Land and Lewis 1998: 72). Moreover, despite the goal of promoting a variety of early education, the majority of parents chose to send their children to reception classes in local authority schools, which they also chose as the primary school. Furthermore, problems remained with the adequacy and the quality of provision. Since 1989, the Children Act had regulated the child-staff ratio for the private and voluntary sector. While the regulations specified that no more than eight three- to four-year-old children should be looked after by one staff member, or no more than 13 children in state-maintained nursery schools, there was no legal regulations regarding the ratio in reception classes in primary schools. Thus, 30 to 35 children per class was the standard (Randall 1996).

The Labour government abandoned the voucher scheme in 1997 and launched the UK's first National Childcare Strategy in 1998 (Lewis 2003). This strategy can be regarded as a major shift towards the government taking responsibility for childcare. There were several reasons for this shift, including the intention to promote the adult worker model, and a desire to combat poverty and social exclusion via investing in children (Lewis 2003; Lister 2003). A special focus was put on lone mothers, who were to be encouraged by better childcare opportunities as well as in-work benefits to take up employment. Following a "social-investment-strategy" (Lister 2003), it focused mainly on the provision of early years education for children between ages three and four and on the promotion of childcare in disadvantaged areas, as the

previous policy initiatives had done. With the National Childcare Strategy, first four-year-olds (1998) and later also three-year-old children (2004) were entitled to a free early education place of 12.5 hours per week for 33 weeks per year (Lewis 2009). Within the National Childcare Strategy, several funding streams have been started, mainly in order to create early education places and childcare places via the promotion of Early Years Development and Childcare Partnerships (EYDCPs) organised by local authorities (Lewis 2003).

Although Tony Blair's Labour government has encouraged various forms of decentralisation and "partnership working" between the local authorities and the voluntary and private sectors to overcome the fragmentation resulting of marketisation, the central government has continued to make childcare policy and to establish the framework for the operation of the provision and operation of the mixed economy of childcare (Evers, Lewis and Riedel 2005: 197).

They also did not change the division between early years education and day care. While early years education has become a universal entitlement for all three-to-four-year-old children, the provision of subsidised care has mainly been limited to disadvantaged neighbourhoods and to low-income earners via tax credits. With the Working Families Tax Credit and later the Working Tax Credit, parents had the opportunity to claim up to 70% of formal childcare costs with a registered provider, up to a maximum of £100 per week for one child and up to £150 per week for two or more children who attend approved facilities.[25] However the impact of the Childcare Tax Credit as part of the Working Families Tax Credit or the Working Tax Credit has, obviously, been limited, since only 12% of those receiving the Working Families Tax Credit used the Childcare Tax Credit in 2001, and these claimants were mainly lone mothers (Lewis 2003: 225). Moreover, the

[25] The childcare subsidy increased to £135 for one child and £200 for two or more children in 2002. With the Working Tax Credit, the Childcare Credit is £175 for one child and £300 for two or more children.

costs of childcare can be much higher than the Childcare Tax Credit can cover: in 2007, the cost of 50 hours of care for a child under age two in a nursery ranged from £127 per week in the West Midlands to £205 per week in Inner London. Childcare costs are highest in London and the south of England, while prices are lower in the north of England, Wales and Scotland (Daycare Trust 2007).

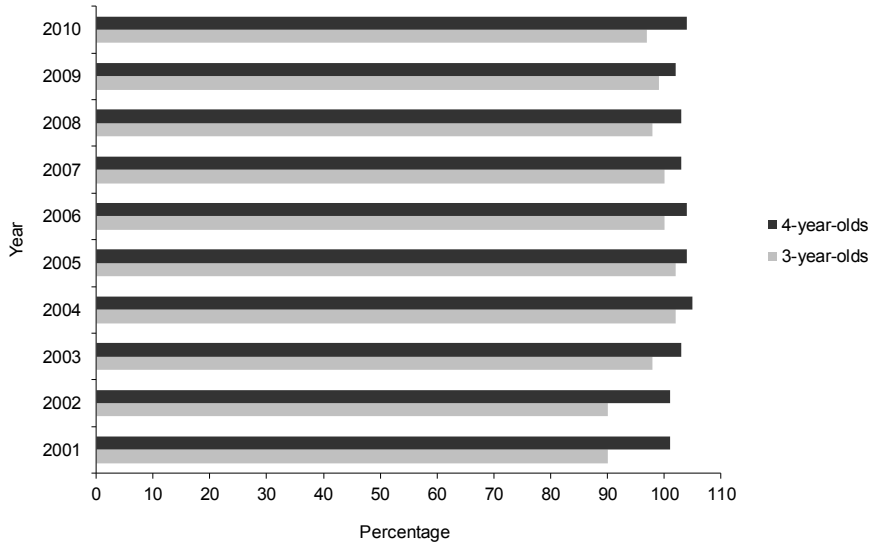
In the 2002 Child Care Review, the government stated its commitment to ensuring that all parents had access to good quality and affordable childcare and to an increase in the budget for this purpose (Strategy Unit 2002). In November 2005, the Childcare Bill was introduced in Parliament (Jarrett 2005). Its goal was to integrate childcare and early years education, placing the onus on local authorities to ensure that childcare provision meets the needs of working parents and to improve early education among children under the age of five (Hansen, Joshi and Verropoulou 2006).

However, Evers, Lewis and Riedel (2005) criticised these developments as being very limited. Indeed, while the number of providers with an early years curriculum, mainly day nurseries, has increased, but the number of places offered by child-minders and playgroups that do not offer early years education has fallen. Furthermore, financial support from the government has, in most cases, only been in the form of pump-priming funds to encourage providers in the private sector to offer services in disadvantaged areas. Thus, the long-term sustainability of many of these providers is doubtful (ibid.: 202).

As Figure 1 shows, almost all four-year-old children participated in early education between the years 2001 and 2010. The majority of children of this age attend either nursery schools or reception classes in primary schools. The proportion of three-year-old children that attended early education was lower, particularly in the years before 2004 when the entitlement to a free place was introduced. However, the provision for three-year-old children is more mixed than for the

four-year-olds. Although early education is free, a survey conducted in 2004 shows that some providers charge "top-up" fees, which is a disadvantage for parents with a lower income. The study showed that it is mainly children from low-income families and those with non-working parents who do not attend early education (Butt, Goddard and La Valle 2007). Furthermore, Viitanen (2005) found that childcare prices have a negative impact on the use of formal childcare, as well as on mothers' employment.

Figure 1: Childcare enrolment ratio of 3- and 4-year-old children in England, 2001-2010



Source: Department for Education and Skills (2005); Department for Education (2010). Notes: Some numbers exceed 100 % because of double-counting.

The efforts made since the late 1990s have improved the situation regarding childcare in the United Kingdom. However, these initiatives mainly affected older children of ages three to four. Although low-income parents are eligible to claim a portion of the cost of childcare through tax credits, cost may remain an obstacle in the use of formal childcare.

Germany

The German childcare system is an interesting case, as there is a significant gap in the provision of care between the eastern and the western parts of the country for historical reasons. While in West Germany, like in Great Britain, childcare has been regarded mainly as a private responsibility, the GDR made strong efforts in the 1960s to increase the number of childcare slots with the clear purpose of supporting maternal employment. In West Germany prior to unification in 1990 (Cornelius 1990: 312; Trappe 1995: 123), the socialisation and educational aspects of kindergarten were emphasised, while enabling mothers to be in paid employment was as secondary goal. Therefore, kindergarten was only a part-time institution, and hardly any childcare for younger children or children of school age was available in West Germany (Kreyenfeld 2004: 10; Kreyenfeld, Spieß and Wagner 2002). This did not change even after the entitlement to a kindergarten place for children from age three onwards was introduced in 1996, since the entitlement was only valid for a part-time slot. These historical differences between eastern and western Germany in the provision of childcare remained visible after unification.

Unlike in Great Britain, the private sector has played only a minor role in the provision of childcare in Germany. Instead, the provision of childcare has been mainly public or publicly funded. Like the organisation of other social services, the organisation of childcare in Germany follows the principle of subsidiarity, which means that a lower level unit takes precedence over a higher level unit (Daly 2000: 11). In the case of institutionalised childcare, this means that the provision by the independent sector takes precedence over childcare provided by the local authorities. It further affects the administration and funding of childcare, as local authorities have more responsibility than the federal states, and the states in turn have more responsibility than the federal government (Prott 2005: 19).

The funding is mainly provided by the local authorities and the federal states; in 2006, the local authorities paid about 47% and the federal states about 32% of the costs for childcare. Parents' fees made up 14% of the total costs, while the independent sector, such as welfare organisations and churches, paid about 5% of the costs for childcare (Schilling 2007: 223). In comparison to Great Britain, the fees that parents have to pay for childcare are much lower in Germany, and are dependent on their household income. On average, parents pay about €91 a month for childcare for a three- to six-year-old, or €119 a month for children under age three. The corresponding hourly fees are €0.93 and €1.57, respectively (Lang 2006: 110). However, the regulations on parents' fees differ greatly between the local authorities (Lang 2006), and while childcare is heavily subsidised and the fees for parents depend on their income, studies show that households with lower incomes pay a higher proportion of their incomes than parents with higher household incomes (Lang 2006; Spieß, Wagner and Kreyenfeld 2000)

The federal government provides financial support only in exceptional cases (Kreyenfeld and Krapf 2010). In recent years, the federal government provided funding for the extension of childcare, particularly for children under age three. As was noted above, these measures were driven by the paradigm shift in family policy, which had a major influence on the debate on childcare. The need to expand childcare provision has been acknowledged by all political parties since the early 2000s, when the issues of demographic ageing and its possible consequences, including a shrinking labour force and an economic downturn, entered the political agenda. The low fertility rate, the high levels of childlessness and a the relatively low rates of employment participation among mothers in western Germany were increasingly regarded as the result of the incompatibility of family and work, a problem which the state had to take steps to address. Sufficient childcare was considered one of the most important measures for improving the

compatibility of family and work (Rüling 2008). Two federal laws have been passed that promote the extension of childcare, particularly for children under age three.

With the Day Care Expansion Act, or TAG (*Tagesbetreuungsausbaugesetz*)[26] of 2005, the federal government required local authorities to create 230,000 new childcare places by October 2010 (Prott 2005; Bien, Rauschenbach and Riedel 2007). Furthermore, childcare by child-minders raised to the level of childcare offered by the local authorities or the independent sector, which meant that this form of childcare would also be publicly funded and monitored and coordinated by the local authorities.

A recent bill, the KiföG (*Kinderförderungsgesetz*)[27] which was passed at the end of 2008, regulated a further extension of childcare, particularly for children under age three. The federal government committed to providing one-third (€4 billion) of the funding that is needed to improve of childcare provision. The goal was to provide a childcare place for 35% of children under age three by 2013. Furthermore, the bill created a legal right to a childcare place for all children aged one year and older from 2013 (Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend 2010).

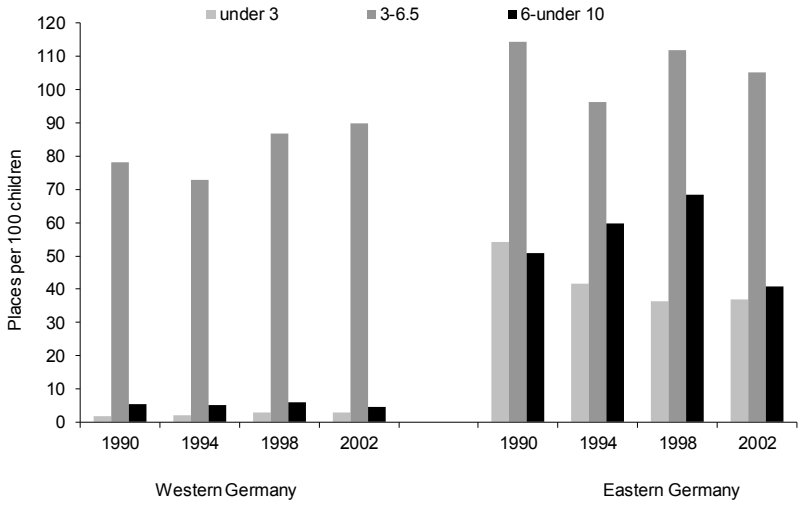
Following the principle of subsidiarity, the majority of childcare places in Germany (63.2%) were offered by the independent sector in 2006, with a higher proportion in western (65.8%) than in eastern Germany (47.7%) (Lange 2008: 101).

Figure 2 shows the development of provision rates between 1990 and 2002 in eastern and western Germany. Large gaps between the two parts of the country can be observed for the childcare provision for children under age three and for children of school age. In 1990, about

[26] The full name of the bill is *"Gesetz zum qualitätsorientierten und bedarfsgerechten Ausbau der Tagesbetreuung für Kinder"*.
[27] *„Gesetz zur Förderung von Kindern unter drei Jahren in Tageseinrichtungen und in Kindertagespflege"*.

54 places for 100 children of the youngest age group were available in eastern Germany, while the provision rate in western Germany was below 2%. While there was a sharp reduction in the number of childcare places in eastern Germany after unification due to the decline in fertility, the provision rates were still much higher in 2002 (37%) than in the western part of the country (3%). The provision rates for children between age three and school age have increased in western Germany, and have almost become comparable to eastern German levels, which can be regarded as an effect of the entitlement to a part-time kindergarten place for children from three years onwards that was introduced in 1996. However, while in eastern Germany almost all childcare places offer full-time care, more than 80% (75%) of places for children of kindergarten age were part-time places in 1998 (2002) (Riedel 2008: 47; Schneider 2002: 58f.).

Figure 2: Childcare provision ratios for children under age 3, between age 3 and age 6.5 and for children between ages 6 and 9, 1990, 1994, 1998, 2002

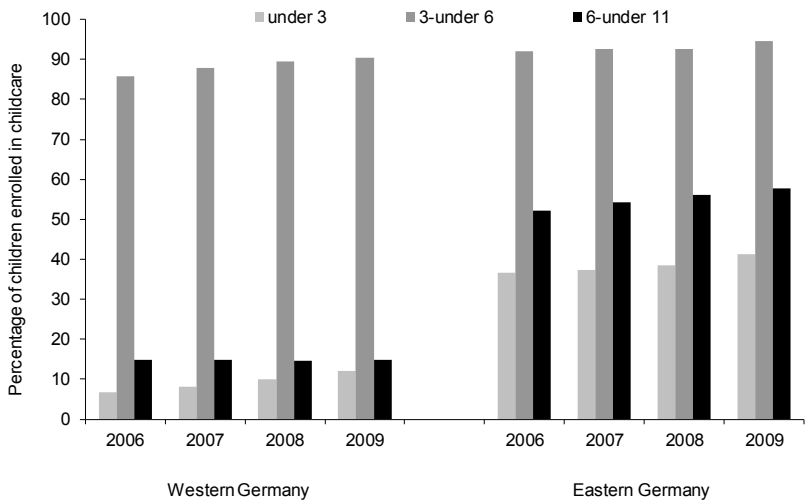


Notes: The figure shows provision rates (childcare slots per 100 children of the same age group.
Sources: Schneider (2002): 34; Statistisches Bundesamt (2004a).

Since 2006, enrolment rates instead of provision rates have been published for the purposes of evaluating the childcare situation in Germany. This means that these data are not directly comparable with the

previous data. However, they show the same picture as the previous figure. The proportion of children in childcare among the youngest age group and children of school age is much higher in eastern than in western Germany (Figure 3). The enrolment rates of children between three and six years of age increased in western Germany between 2006 and 2009, and became comparable to eastern German rates. There was, however, still a marked difference between the full-time enrolment rates of children of this age group in eastern (62%) and western Germany (18%) in 2006 (Riedel 2008: 47).

Figure 3: Childcare enrolment ratios for children under age 3, between age 3 and age 5, and for children between ages 6 and 10, 2006-2009



Notes: The figure shows enrolment rates (children in childcare per 100 children of the same age group).
Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (2010b)

Regarding the use of childcare in Germany, Kreyenfeld and Krapf (2010) showed that the use of childcare depends on the mothers' socio-economic status, especially her education and employment status. In both eastern and western Germany, a high level of maternal education (*Abitur*) has a positive influence on the use of childcare, as well as on full-time employment. Meanwhile children whose mothers are unemployed or inactive are significantly less likely to be in day care.

For western Germany, the study found that, although the use of childcare has increased within all educational groups since the mid-1990s, children with highly educated mothers are three times more likely to be in day care. Particularly for the period 2005 to 2008, the use of childcare among four-to-five-year old western German children with highly educated mothers increased considerably, which indicates in increase in the social differences in the use of childcare (Kreyenfeld and Krapf 2010: 121).

In conclusion, this section has shown that eastern German parents have better opportunities to reconcile employment and children. Parents in eastern Germany, particularly mothers, are able to return to the labour market faster after the birth of a child, as day care facilities for children under age three are widely available. Women in eastern Germany are also able to work more hours than their western German counterparts, as full-time day care coverage is more widely available in the eastern part of the country.

3.5 Additional policy regulations

Germany

As was mentioned above, marriage and the family are protected by the German Basic Law. This protection of marriage and not just the family is peculiar to Germany (Köppen 2011: 75). This form of protection creates some advantages for married couples in comparison to cohabiting couples. These advantages are, however, ambivalent from a gender perspective. In addition to the joint taxation system, which has already been described, there are other regulations that apply to married couples that influence the employment of married women, in part because of the financial privileges associated with marriage itself.

Under the compulsory health insurance system, married couples have the opportunity to obtain free health insurance coverage for the dependants (spouses, children) of an insured member. The pre-condition

is that the dependants' income does not exceed the amount of a *Mini-job* (€400) (Gonser, Thanner, Nagels 2012).

Within the statutory pension insurance system, widows and widowers are entitled to a widow's or widower's pension after the death of their spouse ,which is meant to provide for the loss of maintenance by the deceased spouse. Depending on the age of the surviving spouse, his or her care obligations for children and his or her earning capacity, a widow or widower is entitled to a minimum or a maximum widow's or widower's pension. Currently, the minimum widow's or widower's pension is paid for two years at a level of 25% of the deceased spouse's pension, but it was paid indefinitely in the past.[28] The maximum widow's or widower's pension amounts to 55% of the deceased partner's pension, and is paid indefinitely (Bäcker and Kistler 2012).

In Germany, the regulations regarding post-nuptial maintenance were quite generous until 2007. If a spouse was not able to earn her own living, she was entitled to maintenance by the divorced partner. Since 2008, divorcees have generally been expected to support themselves (Bosch 2007). If, however, the divorcee is not able to earn her own living for one of several reasons, she can still claim maintenance against the divorced partner. One reason for post-nuptial maintenance might be childrearing. However, one of the major changes in the post-nuptial maintenance regulations in 2008 applied to the length of maintenance payments due to childrearing. Whereas until 2007 the expectation of whether and to what extent a divorcee had to earn her own living depended on the age of the child, the regulations regarding the age of the child have been much stricter since 2008. Divorced mothers and those who have separated from a cohabiting partners have been treated similarly since then. Until 2007, divorced as well as non-married mothers were not expected to participate in the labour

[28] The payment of two years applies since 2002. If the insured spouse died before 2002 or if the couple was married on1 January 2002, and at least one spouse was over age 40, the minimum widow's pension is paid indefinitely.

market while their children were under age three. Thus, the father of a child had to pay maintenance to the mother until the child's third birthday. While unmarried mothers could not claim maintenance for a longer period of time, divorced mothers were not expected to take a job before the child's eighth birthday. Thereafter, a divorced mother was only expected to work part-time until the 15th birthday of the child. Since 2008, divorced mothers and women who have separated from their cohabiting partner are still entitled to maintenance from the father of the child until the child reaches age three. However, divorced mothers are in general expected to earn their own living when the child is above this age. This limits the support claims of divorced mothers against their former husbands, and is thus part of the shift away from the male breadwinner model towards a more individualising model.

Great Britain

As in Germany, widows and widowers are entitled to a pension after their partner's death if certain conditions apply. Until 2001, a widow's pension, a widow's payment and a widowed mother's allowance existed. Following a reform by New Labour, these were renamed gender-neutrally to bereavement allowance, bereavement payment and widowed parent's allowance. While until 2001, a widow's pension was payable lifelong if the widow was over age 55 or had children under age 16 or age 19 in full-time education, bereavement allowance is only paid for one year after the death of the spouse (Skevik 2004: 102). The amount depended on the age of the widowed spouse and on the National Insurance Contributions the deceased partner had paid. In 2013, the maximum bereavement allowance was £108.30 per week. Widowed parents are entitled to a widowed parent's allowance until the child reaches age 16, or age 19 if the child attends full-time education. It is also paid depending on the deceased spouse's contribution,

at a maximum of £108.30 per week in 2013. In addition, widowed spouses are entitled to a bereavement payment if they are under state pension age and their spouse paid National Insurance Contributions. It is paid as a lump sum of £2000 after the spouse's death (Department for Work and Pensions 2013).

As a liberal welfare state, the dominant idea in Britain has been that the state should interfere as little as possible in the private affairs of its citizens. Thus, it was assumed that post-nuptial maintenance would be bargained, either by the divorcees themselves or by the courts. When the Divorce Reform Act was passed in 1969, the regulations regarding maintenance were formulated based on the assumption that divorcees would enter another marriage soon after divorce, and that their maintenance would be secured by the new partner (Sigle-Rushton 2009: 163). Although the courts tended to settle the division of assets according to the needs of the divorcee who cared for the children during the 1980s and 1990s, there were no clear legal regulations as in the western German social policy that women could rely on. Apart from the question of post-nuptial maintenance, there were also no clear regulations with regard to child maintenance, and many fathers did not support their children after separation. In these cases, the children and their mothers became dependent on the financial assistance of the state (Lewis 2002). Since the share of lone mothers had increased considerably in Britain since the 1970s, the problem of fathers who did not maintain their children entered the policy agenda at the end of the 1980s. The growing awareness of this problem resulted in the passage of the Child Support Act in 1991, which obliged non-resident parents, mainly fathers, to financially support their children and the caring person, mainly the mother. However, there has been much resentment and criticism of the Child Support Agency, which started its work in 1993. The new agency has also not been very effective in making fathers pay for their children or their separated partners (Sigle-Rushton 2009: 164).

3.6 Attitudes regarding working women in Great Britain and in eastern and western Germany

The increasing share of women who participate in employment raises the question of how attitudes regarding the roles of men and women in the family and society have changed. This question is very relevant if one assumes that "cultural constructions" (Pfau-Effinger 2004) of motherhood, fatherhood and childhood influence individual employment decisions. As was outlined in the chapter on the theoretical considerations, the value change towards post-materialistic values that has been observed in recent decades also included a shift towards more gender-egalitarian values (Inglehart 1977, 1997; Inglehart, Norris and Welzel 2003).

Several empirical studies of attitudinal changes have been conducted for various countries, and they often include cross-country comparisons (Albrecht, Edin and Vroman 2000; Alwin and Braun 1996; Alwin, Braun and Scott 1992; Crompton, Brockmann and Lyonette 2005; Kangas and Rostgaard 2007; Nordenmark 2004; Scott). These studies have found that, in general, attitudes have become more egalitarian over time among both men and women. However, women's attitudes have become more egalitarian than men's (Albrecht, Edin and Vroman 2000; Nordenmark 2004; Scott, Alwin and Braun 1996).

In the following section, I will investigate whether there are general differences between Great Britain and eastern and western Germany in terms of the attitudes towards working women. In a second step, I will examine the association between education and gender role attitudes in the two countries.

Differences between Great Britain and eastern and western Germany

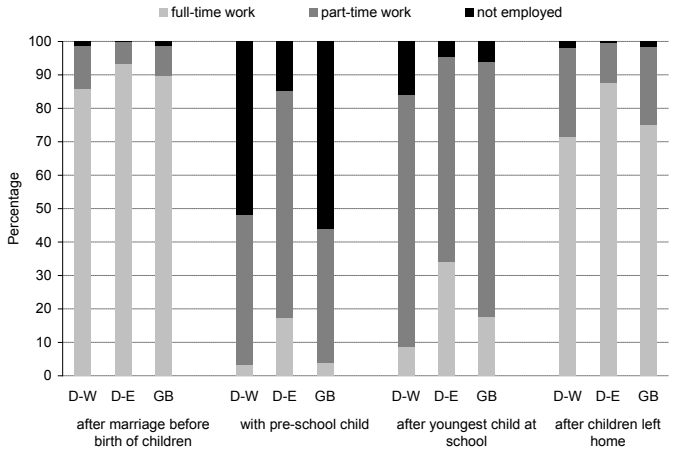
To investigate the attitudes towards women's—and, in particular, mothers' employment—the questions regarding the best employment status for a woman in several circumstances from the ISSP of the year 2002 are used.[29] In general, it can be observed that there are differences between the countries regarding the degree of approval of women's employment, and the differences are most pronounced in the attitudes towards the employment of mothers with young children (Figure 4). While the majority of British people (89.7%) as well as eastern (93.3%) and western Germans (85.8%) think that women should work full-time after their marriage and before they have children, the level approval of employment among mothers with pre-school children, and especially of full-time employment, is lower. The majority of Britons (56.2%) and western Germans (52.0%) think that women should not work at all if they have a pre-school child. In contrast, less than one-sixth (14.8%) of eastern Germans believe than non-employment is the best option for a mother of a pre-school child. The majority of eastern Germans (68.0%) think that women should work part-time if they have a pre-school child, and 17.3% regard full-time employment as acceptable in this situation. In western Germany and Britain, however, only a small minority approve of full-time employment for mothers, but 44.8% of western Germans and 39.9% of Britons regard part-time employment as a suitable option for women with young children. The majority of men and women in both parts of Germany and in Great Britain also regard part-time employment as best for women with school-age children. People approve of full-time employment among this group of mothers to a greater extent than among women with pre-

[29] The wording of the question is "Do you think that women should work outside the home
full-time, part-time or not at all under the following circumstances? a) After marrying and before there are childen. b) When there is a child under school age. c) After the youngest child starts school. d) After the children leave home."

school children. However, the differences between Britain and the two parts of Germany are even more pronounced. While more than one-third of eastern Germans think that women should work full-time if their youngest child has started school, the proportion is only 8.7% among western Germans and 17.7% among Britons. In western Germany, 15.9% of people think that women should not work at all if their youngest child is at school, while the proportion of this group is much smaller in eastern Germany (4.8%) and Great Britain (6.2%). For women with children who have left the parental home, the majority in Great Britain and both parts of Germany regard full-time employment as suitable. However, the proportion is much higher in eastern Germany, while western Germany and Britain are more similar. All of the results are significant.

To summarise, the analysis showed that attitudes regarding women's employment differ between eastern and western Germany and Britain. Western Germans have the most negative view of the employment of mothers with pre-school and school-age children. A large majority of them oppose full-time employment in particular. In contrast, eastern Germans have the most progressive view, while British attitudes towards working mothers lie in the middle. One reason can be seen in the structural constraints of the two parts of Germany and in Britain: the availability of childcare has been very low in western Germany, and has been much higher in eastern Germany. Childcare for young children under age three in general, full-time care for children of kindergarten age and after-school care for school-age children have been very limited in the western part of Germany, whereas the high level of childcare provision that was available in the GDR has been widely maintained in the eastern part of the country.

Figure 4: Attitudes toward the best employment status for a woman in one of the following circumstances, western Germany, eastern Germany, Great Britain, 2002



Notes: all results are significant at the 0.01-level.
Source: ISSP 2002.

Attitudes regarding the preferred employment status for a woman by education among men and women

In a second step, I have investigated whether there are differences in the attitudes towards working mothers by education and by gender in both parts of Germany (Figure 5, Figure 6) and Great Britain (Figure 7). In terms of the differences between men and women, it can be observed that, among Britons, as well as among eastern and western Germans, women approve of female employment to a greater extent than men, which is in line with previous findings (Scott et al. 1996; Nordenmark 2004; Albrecht et al 2000). However, with regard to full-time employment, western Germany is an exception. The shares of those who approve of full-time employment of mothers with a school-age child and mothers whose children have left the parental home are slightly lower among less and medium educated western German women than among western German men with similar educational levels.

The association between education and the degree of approval of women's employment is not as clear as expected in the two parts of Germany, while it is very clear in Great Britain. In western Germany,

the majority of men and women among all educational groups approve of the full-time employment of women after marriage and before having a first child (Figure 5). There is a clear educational gradient for this view among men and women. However, when it comes to the employment of mothers, the picture becomes more varied. With regard to the employment of women with pre-school children, the majority of western German men in all educational groups think that mothers should stay at home. The proportion is highest among highly educated men (63%), and is slightly lower among less educated men (59.1%) and men with a medium level of education (58.3%). The share of western German men who believe that full-time employment is the best option for women with pre-school children is very small: only 3.3% of the highly educated, 1.4% of the medium educated and 4.1% of the less educated men regard this as a suitable employment status. Among western German men, around one-third of those with a high level of education, 36.8% of those with a low level of education and 40.3% of those with a medium level of education think that women with pre-school children should be part-time employed. Again, there is no positive educational gradient in the degree of approval of the employment of women with young children among western German men. However, the results for this statement are not significant. A lower proportion of highly educated women think that mothers should stay at home with pre-school children and a higher share of these women approve of part-time employment relative to less educated women. However, although a higher share of highly educated western German women (8.1%) approve of the full-time employment of mothers with a pre-school child, no difference is found between less educated (2.9%) and the medium educated (2.7%) women. On the question of the best employment status for a mother with a school-age child, the level of approval of full-time employment increases with education among western German men. However, the share of western German men who think that a woman with a school-age child

should not work is slightly higher among the highly educated (15.4%) than among the medium educated (13.9%). The highest share of western German men who disapprove of employment for this group of mothers can be found among the less educated (25.1%). As was mentioned above, it is interesting to note that women with a medium or low level of education approve of the full-time employment of mothers with school-age children to a lesser extent than men with the same level of education. This might be due to the fact that women are regarded as having the main responsibility for childrearing. Because they face the everyday reality of having to reconcile family and work—which is difficult in western Germany due to the limited childcare availability—they are less in favour of full-time employment than men. However, the share is higher among highly educated women (18.3%) than among highly educated men (13.2%). A similar pattern can be observed for the question about the best employment status for women whose children have left the parental home: the degree of approval of employment, and of full-time employment in particular, is much higher in general among both men and women.

In eastern Germany, the association between education and a positive attitude towards working women is even less clear than in western Germany (Figure 6).There is a positive educational gradient among both men and women in terms of attitudes regarding the best employment status for a woman after her marriage and before she has children. However, with regard to the employment of mothers, the proportion of those who approve of mothers' employment seems to be higher among the medium and less educated men and women than among the highly educated in eastern Germany. While 14.1% of the less educated men and 22.7% of the medium educated men in eastern Germany think that women should work full-time if they have a pre-school child, the share is only 9.8% among the highly educated eastern German men. The picture is similar among the eastern German women. One explanation for this could be that, due to the lower wages in east-

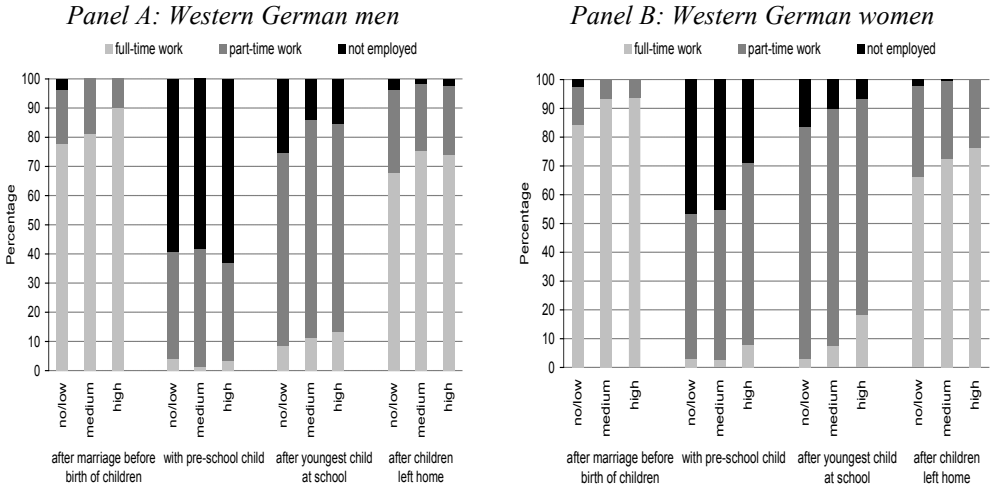
ern Germany, men with low or medium levels of education do not earn enough to support a family, and thus regard mothers' employment as necessary. However, it should be noted that the number of cases is very small, and that most statements are only weakly significant or not significant at all in eastern Germany.

In Great Britain, a significantly positive association can be seen between the educational level and the degree of approval of mothers' employment. While only 1.5% of women with a low educational level and 4.7% of women with a medium educational level believe that women with a pre-school child should work full-time, the share is 12.2% among women with a university degree. Among British men, the share is lower: only 1.1% of men with less education, 3.8% of men with medium education and 5.6% of those with a university education approve of women working full-time if they have a pre-school child. About two-thirds of less educated British men and 61.9% of less educated British women think that mothers of a pre-school child should not work. Among the medium educated, 57.7% of men and 52.3% of women believe that non-employment is the best option for a woman with a pre-school child. One-third of women but 51.6% of men with a university degree think that women should not work if they are mothers of a pre-school child. The pattern for the other statements is similar.

In sum, there appears to be a significantly positive association between the degree of approval of women's employment and education in Great Britain, whereas this association is not as clear in the two parts of Germany for all indicators as it is in Britain. In general, women have more positive attitudes towards female employment, with some exceptions among western Germans, in particular with regard to full-time employment of mothers with pre-school and school-age children. In eastern Germany, it is peculiar that medium and less educated men and women have more positive attitudes towards working women than their highly educated counterparts, which might be because of the

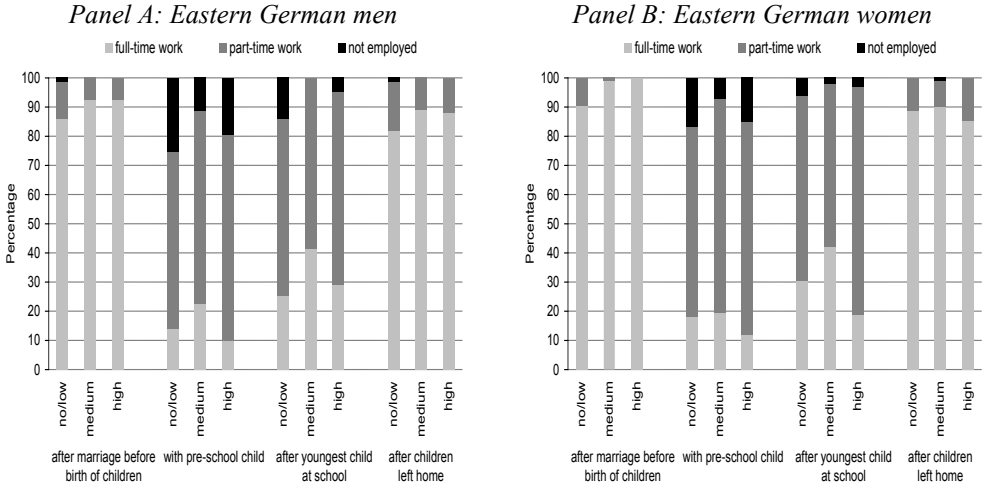
low number of cases in the analysis, or because they regard women's employment as economically more necessary than the highly educated.

Figure 5: Attitudes regarding the best employment status for a woman in one of the following circumstances, by education, western Germany, 2002



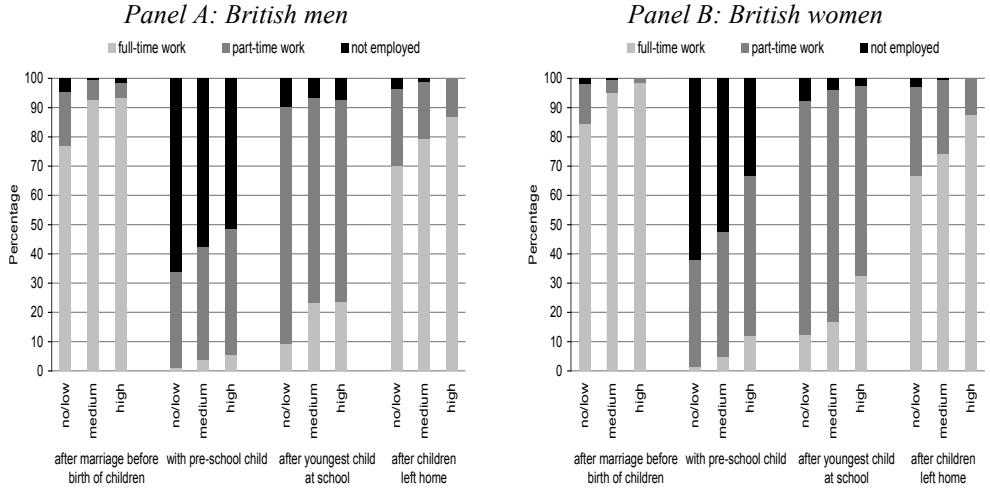
Source: ISSP 2002, own calculations.

Figure 6: Attitudes regarding the best employment status for a woman in one of the following circumstances, by education, eastern Germany, 2002



Source: ISSP 2002, own calculations.

Figure 7: Attitudes regarding the best employment status for a woman in one of the following circumstances, by education, Great Britain, 2002



Source: ISSP 2002, own calculations.

3.7 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to analyse the context of parents' employment in Great Britain and in eastern and western Germany by describing the relevant social policies that have been in place in the 1990s and 2000s, and their change within this period. Furthermore, the question that needs to be answered is whether there has been a shift towards an adult worker model at the policy level in the German and the British welfare states.

The foundations of the British and the German welfare state have long-standing roots in both countries. In the 1880s, Germany became the first country to provide social insurance programmes for workers. The motivation behind this social provision was to avert social and political conflicts and to promote the loyalty of the working class to the monarchy. In contrast, the British welfare state goes back to the Poor Law, which sought to provide very basic poor relief for those unable to support themselves through paid work. Thus, the social provision in Britain has always been very basic, means-tested and mainly paid as flat rates; while in Germany the primary goals of social provision for the (mainly male) workforce were the protection of status and

income. These basic principles were followed in the establishment of the welfare states in West Germany and Great Britain after World War II, and are reflected in the social policies that have been in place up to today.

The British labour market has been characterised as very flexible, providing the lowest level employment protection in Europe. In Germany, by contrast, the levels of employment protection have been higher and the labour market has been less flexible, although the levels of German employment protection decreased for irregular employees (temporary and marginally employed persons) between the early 1990s and late 2000s. In Britain, employment protection has been strengthened to some extent by the New Labour government, who introduced a minimum wage, increased dismissal protection and improved protections for temporary employees. However, some employment rights were also weakened under New Labour.

The support provided to unemployed persons has been very different in the two welfare states. While in Germany the emphasis of unemployment support has been on status protection, even for long-term unemployed people; in Britain, only low levels of financial benefits have been provided.

Both welfare states have placed more emphasis on welfare-to-work policies in recent years. In Britain, this strategy was pursued after the election of New Labour in 1997, while in Germany, the Red-Green coalition led by Chancellor Schröder initiated labour market reforms that represented a major shift away from the old status protection system of the Bismarckian welfare state. The most important change was the Hartz IV reform of 2005, which replaced the previous income-related unemployment assistance for the long-term unemployed with a flat-rate benefit that provides a minimum level of support. Activation has been emphasised more strictly since then.

Due to their low employment rates, lone parents, mainly lone mothers,

have been a special target group during the welfare reform in Great Britain, and major emphasis was placed on their activation by a special labour market programme that was designed for them (*New Deal for Lone Parents*). In Germany, however, lone parents have not been regarded as such a problematic group, and thus they have not been on the agenda of this policy reform.

Furthermore, in-work benefits have played a major role in Britain, as a "making work pay" strategy that aims at establishing employment incentives for low-income earners to enter the labour market by paying social benefits in addition to the wage. Although in Germany an in-work benefit for families is paid as well, due to the quite complicated regulations and a lack of information, it is less popular than in Britain. It has been argued that both the German and the British in-work benefit systems create negative employment incentives for the second earner, who are often women. Regarding lone parents, the British in-work benefit system has created a strong positive incentive for them to enter employment. However, the labour market programme *New Deal for Lone Parents* has been only voluntary, and does not require lone parents to search for work until their youngest child reaches age 16. In contrast, the German regulations have been much stricter. In Germany, lone parents were obliged to search for work when their youngest child reached age three, even before the Hartz IV reform was implemented in 2005. In practice, however, parents were allowed to focus on caring for their children until the children reached school age, or even longer. The Hartz IV reform changed the situations of lone parents, as many of them who had previously received social assistance were moved to the new unemployment benefit II scheme, and were thus exposed to much higher activation measures than before. At the same time, their children were not longer given priority in terms of obtaining a childcare place.

For couples, the effect of the unemployment benefit II system is ambivalent. On the one hand, the benefit system adopts the adult worker

model by requiring all adults to work, which is different from the means-tested unemployment assistance, in which the unemployment of the main (male) earner the partner did not get activated by the system. On the other hand, due to the exceptions that exist if people have care obligations (mostly women), the traditional male breadwinner model might be supported. Furthermore, there is no individual eligibility for benefits; partners are obliged to support each other financially. In Britain, this financial obligation is assumed as well, but the adult worker model is enforced less strictly in the benefit system, since the *New Deal for the Partner of the Unemployed* is only a voluntary programme.

Regarding family policies, the two welfare states have also differed greatly. Whereas in Britain no explicit family policy existed until New Labour came into office, the German family policy system supported the male breadwinner model through a variety of measures until recently. Clear incentives for the male breadwinner family model within marriage in Germany were established by the joint taxation system, and by generous regulations that provided free health insurance for non-working spouses, maintenance after divorce, and widows' pensions. This traditional family model has also been supported by a long parental leave entitlement coupled with low parental leave benefits, as well as the low level of provision of childcare in western Germany. In eastern Germany, however, childcare provision has been traditionally high, and has remained high after unification despite the reduction in childcare slots in response to the drastic decline in births. The policy goal since the mid-2000s has been to strongly increase the childcare provision, particularly for children under age three.

A major reform of the German family policy has been the introduction of a new, "Scandinavian style" income-related parental leave benefit system that replaced the old means-tested flat-rate benefit. It also included two "daddy months" designed to encourage fathers to increase their participation in childcare after birth. The income-related benefit

was introduced in order to lower the opportunity costs of taking leave for both men and women, particularly for highly qualified parents with high incomes. Because the benefit replaces the parent's working income without any means test, it might reduce a woman's dependence on a male earner after childbearing, and increase the incentives among fathers to use leave, unlike the old system, which did not provide adequate income compensation. Therefore, the German reform of the parental leave benefit can be seen as a more individualising or defamilialising measure that is directed towards the adult worker model.

While in Germany the low benefit that was paid during leave led to a low take-up rate among fathers, in the British leave regulations, the idea that the woman was solely responsible for caring for babies was implemented from the outset. Thus, only paid maternity leave was available until 1999 in the UK, and fathers did not have the chance to take leave.

Childcare provision has differed considerably between Great Britain and eastern and western Germany. While in Britain the private market has been dominant in the provision of childcare, public provision has prevailed in both parts of Germany. However, whereas in eastern Germany childcare provision has traditionally been high and has mainly been full-time due to the support of maternal employment in East Germany before unification; in the western part of Germany the main aims of childcare have been socialisation and education. Thus, childcare provision, particularly for young children, was low and mainly on a part-time basis in western Germany. Both countries have changed their childcare policies towards an increase in public provision, Britain since the late 1990s and Germany since the mid 2000s. Whereas in Britain this stronger provision was primarily a social investment strategy that was also intended to alleviate poverty through mothers' employment; in Germany, the primary goals of improved childcare provision were to increase mothers' employment, and to promote the early social integration of (mainly migrant) children.

Regarding the attitudes towards the employment of women, it has been shown that there are differences between Great Britain and Germany, and between the two parts of Germany in particular. While the vast majority of people in Great Britain, eastern and western Germany are in favour of the full-time employment of women without children, the levels of approval are much lower when it comes to the employment of mothers. A comparison of the two parts of Germany and of Great Britain showed that the proportions of those who approve of the employment of mothers is highest in eastern Germany and lowest in western Germany, while Great Britain lies in between the two parts of Germany. The association between education and the approval of mothers' employment is very clear in Britain, but it is not as clear as it was expected in the two parts of Germany.

Has there been a shift toward an adult worker model assumption at the policy level in Great Britain and Germany?

The reforms and changes in social policy that have taken place in Britain since New Labour came to power in 1997 and in Germany since the early 2000s have been discussed as representing a shift towards a more individualising model of the welfare state or an adult worker model. Indeed, most of the reforms clearly move in the direction of a more individualising social policy assumption, which includes a higher degree of defamilialisation of individuals. However, on the other hand, there are also policy measures that have a familialising character.

In Germany, the new parental leave benefit that was introduced in 2007 has a defamilialising character, since it is a benefit that is granted on the basis of individual income, and is not, like the previous flat-rate benefit, means-tested on the basis of household income. Additionally, it encourages mothers to return to the labour market earlier, since the benefit is granted for a shorter period. Furthermore, the new

parental leave benefit increases the incentives for fathers to use leave, which improves the chances that women will return to work earlier, and thus promotes their defamilialisation. In connection with an increasing extension of childcare and the right to a place in childcare for one-year-old children from August 2013 onwards, the German welfare state shifts in the direction of a more individualising welfare state. However, in western Germany, the provision of childcare for children under the age of three is still limited, which hampers women's ability to participate in employment and to support themselves after their parental leave benefit has expired. Thus, they have to rely on a second income, usually their partner's. The still limited childcare infrastructure in western Germany therefore continues to have a familialising effect. Familialisation and women's non-employment is further financially supported by the German tax system and the health insurance system.

The effects of the unemployment benefit II scheme that was introduced in 2005 are also ambivalent. On the one hand, it promotes the adult worker model through the requirement that all able-bodied adults in the household participate in the labour market. On the other hand, the benefit is not individualised, but is means-tested on the household income. This makes unemployed women financially dependent on their partners income if this is high enough and does not entitle them to support by the Job Centres. Additionally, the childrearing benefit that is planned to be paid from August 2013 onwards to parents whose children do not attend public childcare has a clear familialising character, since it will probably create work disincentives to women with low incomes (Ellingsæter 2012).

In Great Britain, an ambivalence with regard to familialising and defamilialising social policy trends similar to that in Germany can be observed. The rights of parents to take leave after the birth of a child have been extended. However, the focus has been on the extension of paid maternity leave, while paternity leave is only granted for a very

short time and parental leave is still unpaid. The maternity leave benefit is only income-related for a short time, and the rest is paid as a flat-rate benefit that does not provide an adequate income replacement and makes a second earner necessary. Therefore, the extension of leave has been defamilialising because it provides a longer job guarantee and increases women's attachment to the labour market, but, at the same time, it has also been familialising because of the low benefit, which makes women dependent on their partners during that time.

The commodification of lone parents in Britain has been supported through the establishment of higher work incentives through in-work benefits. The same policy measure has, however, created negative incentives for second (female) earners in families and thus, might have a familialising effect.

By launching the National Childcare Strategy, Britain has focused on the extension of childcare, mainly with a focus on early social investment. Although this is a step towards defamilialisation, prices have stayed quite high, since childcare is still mainly provided by the market. This represents an obstacle for those with lower incomes to use childcare and to become employed. The British unemployment benefit system has a familialising effect since it is means-tested. Due to separate taxation, the British tax system has a defamilialising effect.

In sum, there appears to be a trend towards individualisation in the British and the German policy systems. However, this has not been a clear shift towards the adult worker model. Instead, as Daly (2011) has argued, the effects have been ambivalent, as both defamilialising and familialising policy measures co-exist.

4 Labour market participation in Great Britain and in eastern and western Germany

Women's and men's labour market participation patterns are assumed to be influenced by the institutional context and the gender culture of a country or a region. The institutional structure, laws and regulations shape opportunities and establish constraints for employment or non-employment, parents' exit and re-entry behaviour after childbirth and also the extent of employment. With regard to part-time employment, it has been argued that institutional arrangements "exhibit a 'time policy' orientation which shapes individual working-time options and the gender division of labour in households across the life course" (Anxo, Fagan and Cebrian 2007: 235).

In the following section, I will describe how women's and men's employment has developed in the United Kingdom[30] and in eastern and western Germany. First, the measurement of labour market participation will be discussed. I will then look at standard labour market indicators, such as the labour force participation rate, the employment and unemployment rate, the age-specific labour force participation rate as well as part-time rates for both parts of Germany and the United Kingdom.

Measures of labour market participation

There are several indicators that measure labour market participation. The most common ones are the labour force participation rate and the employment rate. The employment rate indicates the proportion of employed (and self-employed) people in relation to the population,

[30] Although Great Britain and not the whole United Kingdom are investigated in this dissertation, due to availability the standard labour market indicators are presented for the United Kingdom.

while the labour force participation rate defines the percentage of the population who are in the labour force, either by being employed or by actively searching for work, in relation to the population. In most cases, the "population" is defined as the population between the ages of 15 to 64 years, and employment is defined as working at least one hour in "gainful" employment in the reference week.

With regard to women's labour market participation, it is important to note that those who are temporarily absent from work because, for example, they are sick or on maternity or parental leave, are classified as employed if they receive a certain amount of their income as a replacement during their absence. This means that the labour force participation and the employment rate usually overestimate the labour market participation of women, particularly of mothers. Another issue is that both measures obviously do not take the extent of employment into account. Every person who works at least one hour is included in the employment rate. Thus, it is only a very rough measure if the goal is to compare employment rates between countries where different levels of part-time and full-time employment are prevalent, particularly among women. Therefore, the following sections will also show part-time employment rates in order to provide a more detailed picture. Furthermore, the male and female employment rates include men and women with and without children. Since in western Germany childlessness is quite high and childless women are more likely to be employed than mothers, the employment and the labour force participation rates are only crude indicators of the reconciliation of family and work. The unemployment rate is measured as the proportion of persons who are without work, have actively searched for work within the last four weeks and who are available to work within the next two weeks, in relation to the working-age population (Hussmanns 2007).

4.1 Germany

While most men in both parts of German are in standard employment relationships, with full-time employment being the most prevalent employment status among men, women's labour force participation is characterised by a large gap between the eastern and the western German parts of the country. The source of this gap can be found in the different welfare state settings and the different labour market regimes between the end of World War II and unification in 1990. Whereas in East Germany women's employment was actively supported by the government, in West Germany the male breadwinner model dominated social policy.

4.1.1 Labour market participation in East Germany before unification

In the GDR, the support for women's employment was ideologically and economically motivated. Although damage from the war was visible in all parts of Germany, the eastern part was more strongly affected than the western part. The destruction in the cities was more severe and there was a particularly severe lack of male workers in the Soviet-occupied zone[31] (Obertreis 1986: 39). Women were needed as workers due to the severe lack of male workers. In addition, many women were also forced to work to maintain themselves and their families due to the loss or disability of their partners or divorce. Furthermore, there was a massive out-migration from the GDR starting in the 1950s, which led to decline in the number of available workers that could not be stopped until the wall was built in 1961. The goal of GDR policy was to permanently integrate women into the labour market (Trappe 1995). Directly after World War II, the main focus was to

[31] In 1946, the sex ratio was 100 men to 135 women (Trappe 1995: 47f.). In the younger age groups the ratio was even more imbalanced; in the age group 20-25 the ratio was 229 women to 100 men (Obertreis 1986: 39).

bring as many women as possible into production to replace male labour, and to deal with the consequences of high female unemployment, since many jobs in textile production and administration had been lost (Trappe 1995: 49). However, in the initial years after the GDR was founded in 1949, the ideological motivation for women's employment gained more importance. Women's policy made use of the theories of Marxism/Leninism, the labour movement and the first women's movement (Bebel 1979; Zetkin 1957; Engels 1981). The main idea of these theories was that the elimination of the private means of production, the equal participation of women in the process of production and the provision of reproduction work by the state were the preconditions for gender equality, and that gender equality would be a natural consequence of changing socio-economic conditions in a socialist society[32] (Trappe 1995: 53f.). Gender equality was legally anchored in the constitution of the GDR in 1949, and all laws that were in opposition to this principle were annulled (Trappe 1995: 55). Women were granted the right to equal wages and protections in the workplace, particularly as mothers. The need for services that would allow women to combine their duties as workers and mothers arose (Penrose 1990: 65). It was understood that mothers were responsible for caring for their children, and that they needed support from society to enable them to engage in employment. In contrast, fathers were not regarded as carers, which can be seen in the fact that leave regulations were only available for women but not for men (Penrose 1990: 63). Penrose (1990: 63) argued that the ideas and the theoretical foundation of women's policy in the GDR were not further developed, and mainly stayed at the level of the turn of the century. Therefore, the

[32] Dölling (1993: 26f.) wrote that values rooted in the industrial society and traditional cultural patterns about masculinity and femininity were—albeit unintentionally—integrated into the programme of the labour movement, and later into the GDR's constitution and laws. The idea of a separation of (paid) "productive" work and (unpaid) "unproductive" work that is typical for industrial societies was adopted for the theoretical roots. Furthermore, Dölling (1993) noted that cultural patterns that degraded housework were integrated into the idea of a separation of employment and unpaid work. These ideas were integrated in the constitution and in the cultural ideas about men's and women's roles.

women's policy was also not able to adapt to the different needs of future generations of women (Trappe 1995: 57).

A combination of policies that aimed at increasing women's ability to work and care for their children had been introduced in the GDR (Hank, Tillmannn and Wagner 2001; Kreyenfeld 2001; Trappe 1995). The provision of childcare had been extended since the late 1950s, a one-year maternity leave (*"Babyjahr"*) was introduced in 1976 for married women after the second birth. However, non-married women became already eligible to this leave after the birth of their first child which has usually been regarded as one of the reasons for the high proportion of non-marital births in East Germany (Cromm 1998: 529; Konietzka and Kreyenfeld 2002; Trappe 1995: 210).

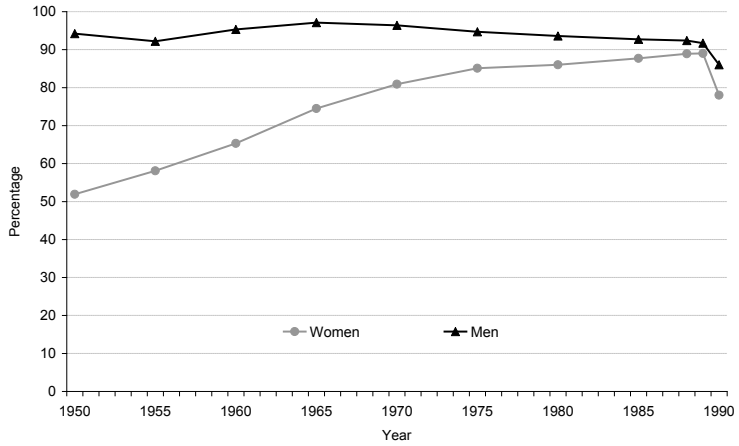
As a result of this combination of measures pushing women into employment, the labour force participation rate of women in East Germany became one of the highest in the world. At the time of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, 89% of East German women worked in the labour market, a rate which was almost equal to the rate among East German men (91.7%) (Figure 8). Meanwhile, the rate among West German women was 55.5%, a level that had been reached in the GDR in the 1950s. However, by the following year, when German unification occurred, East Germany had already experienced a major decrease in men's and women's labour market participation rates.

Not only the level of female employment participation varied between East and West Germany, but also the extent of employment. The majority of women worked full-time and part-time employment was rather used by older women as a transition to retirement (Winkler 1990).

Regarding the demographic behaviour, there were, unlike in Western European countries, no gradual changes in the age at first birth or in the proportion of childless women as East German women were gradually brought into the labour force. A pattern of continuous and early family formation with short interruptions after childbirth became very

specific to the GDR in the last two decades of the country's existence (Trappe 1995: 208). Trappe characterised women's employment in East Germany as "a gradual transition from a discontinuous employment towards a stable and qualified employment" (Trappe 1995: 208)[33].

Figure 8: Men's and women's labour force participation rates, age group 15-64, East Germany, 1950-1990



Source: Bothfeld et al. (2005), Table 3.A.1b.

On the one hand, social policies in the GDR enabled women to be continuously employed with only short interruptions after childbirth. On the other hand, however, the system also contributed to the statistical discrimination of women of childbearing ages, as they were regarded as less reliable employees (Trappe 1996; Sørensen and Trappe 1995). As was the case in other European countries, there was a strong gender occupational segregation in the GDR (Sørensen and Trappe 1995: 215). Income inequalities between men and women persisted until the end of the GDR.

To summarise, the family policy of the GDR was focused on women, particularly mothers. During the 40 years that the state existed, their roles had changed dramatically. However, the state did not intend to change men's roles with regard to the division of housework or child-

[33] Own translation.

care (Sørensen and Trappe 1995: 200). Although almost 90% of women were in the labour force in 1989, they were still regarded as responsible for housework and childrearing. Due to women's inclusion in employment and the support from the state, men's breadwinner role was destabilised, but there was no "cultural redefinition of men's roles towards an engagement in housework or childcare"[34] (Sørensen and Trappe 1995: 200).

4.1.2 Labour market participation in West Germany before unification

One source of the huge East-West gap in women's labour market participation between World War II and 1989 was the sharp difference in the two social policy settings. Unlike in East Germany, where women were actively encouraged and partly forced by the social policy setting to become employed, West German social policy supported the male breadwinner model, and later the modernised male breadwinner model.

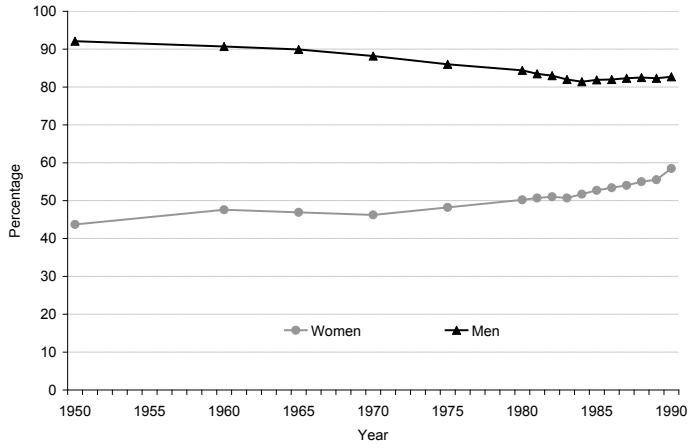
In West Germany, the proportion of women in the labour market grew only slowly after World War II. While in 1950 43.7% of women between the ages of 15 and 64 participated in the labour market, the proportion had increased to only 50.2% 30 years later (Figure 9). At this time, 86% of East German women were active in the labour market. In a European comparison of female labour force participation rates, West Germany ranked in the lower midfield of countries, while East Germany had one of the highest rates. When the Wall came down in 1989, 55.5% of West German women were active in the labour market, compared to 89% of their East German counterparts. The increase in the labour force participation rate had mainly been due to the rise in married women's employment, while young single women's econom-

[34] Own translation.

ic activity decreased because of longer periods spent in education (Blossfeld and Rohwer 1997: 165).

West German men's labour force participation after World War II was based on the standard employment relationship (*Normalarbeitsverhältnis*) (Dombois 1999). However, like in other Western European countries, there was a decline in men's labour market participation in West Germany, mainly due to more time spent in education among younger men and a trend towards earlier retirement, particularly after a flexible retirement option had been introduced in 1972 (Geißler 2002; Börsch-Supan and Schnabel 1998). While in 1950 92.1% of West German men between the ages of 15 and 64 were active in the labour market the proportion had decreased to 82.7% in 1990 (Figure 9).

Figure 9: Men's and women's labour force participation rates, age group 15-64, West Germany, 1950-1990



Source: Bothfeld et al. (2005), Table 3.A.1a.

Women's part-time employment in West Germany

Although the labour force participation rate is a widely used indicator, it is also only a rough indicator of employment patterns, since it does not give information about the number of hours people work. In West

Germany, women's increasing labour market participation was mainly due to part-time employment (Klammer and Ochs 1998). After 1950, there was a strong increase in part-time employment that lasted until the mid-1970s. During this phase, the proportion of females among full-time workers declined (Blossfeld and Rohwer 1997: 167). On the one hand, the increase in the labour force participation rate of married women was due to an overall increase in part-time jobs, but it was also due to a substitution of part-time for full-time jobs (Blossfeld and Rohwer 1997: 168). One of the main reasons for this steep increase in part-time employment among women was the expansion of service and administrative occupations, which were the primary sources of jobs for women during the *Wirtschaftswunder* ("economic miracle"). Another factor was the decline in the labour supply of young single women due to their longer educational participation, as well as the decrease in the age of first marriage and first birth up to the birth cohort 1944-1947 (Blossfeld and Rohwer 1997: 168). Moreover, the tendency among West German women to work part-time rather than full-time was influenced by traditional views on the gender division of labour and the institutional framework of a conservative welfare state, which did not provide sufficient childcare and which actively favoured the male breadwinner model by the tax system (Blossfeld and Rohwer 1997: 169).

After the mid-1970s, women's part-time employment rates were relatively stable, and women's full-time employment rates increased slightly. Although the economic miracle had come to an end after the oil price shock, employers' attitudes regarding women's employment had become more positive. However, although a new segment of part-time work was established in administrative and service jobs, these sectors were not expanding as rapidly as before. The supply of women's labour continued to increase after the mid-1970s as employment among mothers became more common (Blossfeld and Rohwer 1997: 170). At the same time, fertility declined and the mean age at

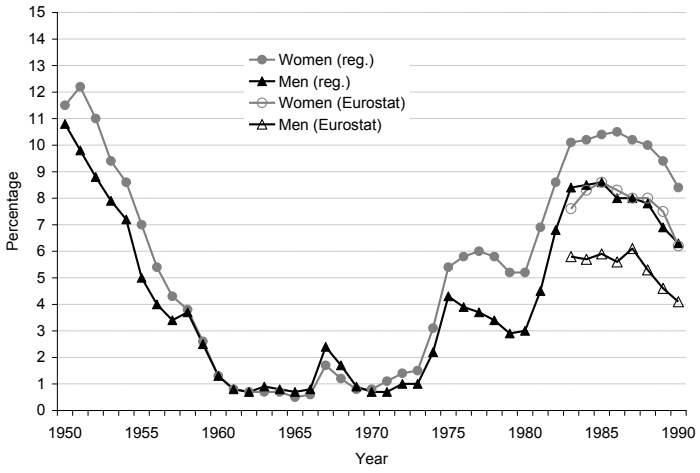
childbearing increased, which led to a shorter time span for childbearing. In addition, the educational expansion provided better job opportunities for women, particularly in the public sector (Blossfeld 1985, 1989), and technical innovations reduced the amount of time women were spending on household chores. By the late 1980s, women's part-time work had become a form of employment that could no longer be regarded as atypical among western German women: whereas in 1957 only about one-tenth of employed women were part-time workers, the share had increased to 30% in 1989 (Bothfeld 2005: 139). As was already mentioned, about 27% of working women in the GDR were in part-time employment, but they differed from West German women in part-time work in terms of age and working hours. While in the GDR part-time workers were mainly older women, and most of them worked between 25 and 35 hours; in West Germany part-time work was mainly used as a way to combine family responsibilities and employment, and thus part-time mainly meant half-time work (Winkler 1990: 83; Bothfeld 2005: 138).

Unemployment in West Germany until 1990

In the early years of the Federal Republic of Germany, unemployment rates were quite high due to the transformation process after World War II. While in 1950 10.8% of men and 11.5% of women were registered as unemployed, the proportion rapidly declined as a consequence of the economic miracle. Between the early 1960s and the oil price shock in 1973, West Germany experienced full employment, with unemployment rates of 0.5 to 1.4% (Figure 10). As a consequence of the shortage of labour, particularly after the Berlin Wall was built in August 1961, which immediately stopped the flow of migrants from East Germany, the West German government decided to allow migrant workers (so-called "guest workers") from southern Europe, Turkey

and Northern Africa to enter Germany as part of a guest worker programme (Geißler 2002).[35]

Figure 10: Unemployment rate (registered unemployment and Eurostat data), men and women, ages 15-64, West Germany



Note: Since the data that are comparable on the basis of the ILO-definition of unemployment are only available since 1983, the figure shows the rate of registered unemployment since 1950 that is between 2-3 percentage points higher than the unemployment rate published by Eurostat. The graph shows the rates for registered unemployment, as well as data from Eurostat that follow the ILO definition of unemployment. The rate of registered unemployment refers to the number of registered unemployed persons as a percentage of the dependent civilian labour force. Until 1958 the Saarland is not included.
Source: Registered unemployment: Bothfeld et al. (2005) Table 3.A.12; Eurostat (2012)

After 1973, unemployment steadily increased in West Germany. In every period of recession (1974/75, 1981/82, 1992/93), jobs were cut back. Although new jobs were created in periods of increasing economic activity, the level of unemployment did not decrease to its initial level due to a steady flow of job seekers into the labour market

[35] The bilateral recruitment agreements on the "guest worker programme" were signed with Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968). The idea behind the programme was a principle of rotation. Migrants received work and residency permits for a certain period, after which they had to leave the country and were replaced by new workers. Between 1955 and 1973 about 14 million migrants came to West Germany, and within this time about 11 million of them went back to their country of origin (Bade 1994: 19). After the oil price shock in 1973 a recruitment stop was implemented (Geißler 2002).

(Hradil 2004: 178). This development led to a step-wise increase in the unemployment rate since 1973. While 150,000 people were unemployed at the early 1970s, by 1975 the figure had increased to over one million (Klammer and Ochs 1998; Bothfeld 2005: 147). In 1983, 2.2 million people were searching for work. This number increased to 2.3 in 1985, and then slightly decreased to 2.04 million in 1989.

While between the early and the late 1960s the female unemployment rate had been lower than the male unemployment rate, the female rate was much higher after this period until the early 1990s. This development did not reflect a decrease in available jobs, but rather women's increasing labour supply.

4.1.3 Labour market participation in Germany after unification

The unification of Germany in 1990 radically changed the labour market in eastern Germany. Following a massive reduction in jobs, the number of employees fell and unemployment increased. While the number of employees in East Germany in 1989 was about 9.2 million (4.7 million of men and 4.5 million of women), 1.8 million people, or about 20% of the working-age population, subsequently lost their jobs. While the number of employed men decreased by 800,000, women were more strongly affected: by 1991, the number of female employees had decreased by one million (Engelbrech and Reinberg 1998: 47).

One characteristic of the East German labour market was the much higher proportion of employees in the agricultural sector and in the processing industries compared to West Germany. In these sectors, the job losses were most severe and thus led to a shift in employment towards the service sector immediately after unification. However, the occupational gender segregation that existed in the GDR further in-

creased as women were crowded out in the allocation of newly created jobs in the service sector. It was mainly men who benefited from jobs created for service professionals. A similar development could be observed in the fields of office and administration, as well as in education and care. Thus, the proportion of women in the service sector decreased to a much lower level in eastern Germany (less than 60%) compared to western Germany (about 80%) (Engelbrech and Reinberg 1998: 49f.).

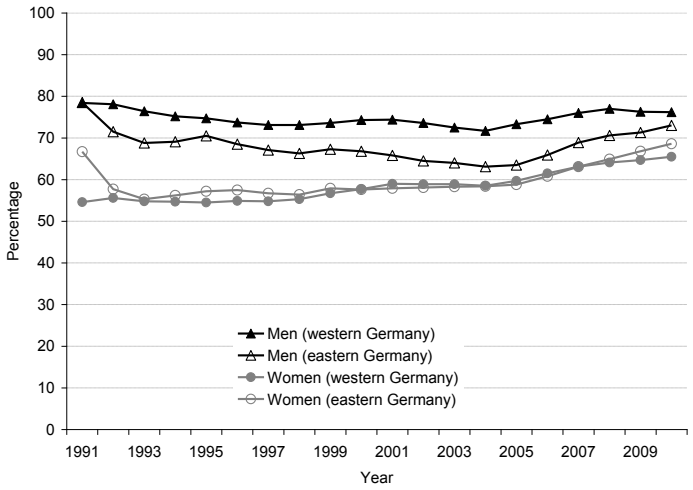
Unlike in eastern Germany, the number of female employees increased steadily in western Germany until 1992. In contrast, employment growth among men was less strong. Western German women mainly benefited from the creation of new jobs in the service sector, particularly in the fields of education, consulting, care, office-related tasks and sales. Therefore, the number of employed women grew, despite the labour market shift in 1992 and 1993 (Engelbrech and Reinberg 1997: 3).

A comparison of the employment rates of women in eastern and western Germany (Figure 11) shows that the proportion of eastern German women in paid work fell sharply in the early 1990s, hitting a low of 55.3% in 1993. Thus, in eastern Germany after unification, the female employment rate declined relatively quickly to reach a level comparable to that of western Germany (1993: 54.8%). Eastern German women's employment rate was slightly higher between the mid- to late 1990s, and in the following years the employment rates of eastern and western German women were almost identical, with both slightly increasing over time. However, since 2008 the eastern German female employment rate seems to have increased more quickly than that of western Germany: in 2010 68.6% of eastern German women were in paid employment, compared to 65.5% of western German women.

While the employment rates of eastern and western German women converged relatively quickly after unification, the employment rate of

eastern German men has been considerably lower than that of men in the western part of the country. In 1993, 76.4% of western German men were in paid work, compared with only 68.8% of eastern German men. By 2002, the East-West gap in male employment rates had increased to 9.1 percentage points (western German men: 73.6%, eastern German men: 64.5%). However, after the mid-1990s, the male employment rates in the two parts in Germany became increasingly similar.

Figure 11: Employment rate, men and women, ages 15-64, eastern and western Germany

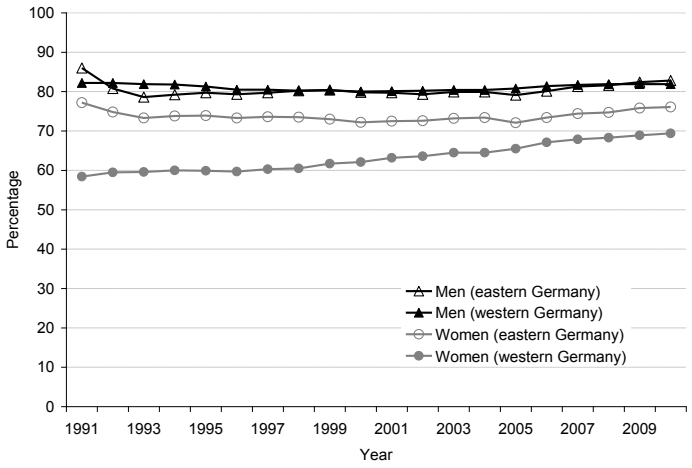


Source: 1991-2004: Bothfeld et al. (2005), Table 3.A.5; 2005-2010: Statistisches Bundesamt 2010a.

However, as was already described, the employment rate only includes people who are in paid work. To see the proportion of people who are actually "active" on the labour market—meaning they are either working or searching for work—we need to look at the labour force participation rate (Figure 12). This rate gives a different picture of the gaps between eastern and western German men and women. It shows that activity rates among eastern and western German men almost fully converged starting in the 1990s. Meanwhile, the female labour force participation rates indicate that a higher proportion of women have been active in the labour market in eastern than in west-

ern Germany, and that this difference has persisted over time.

Figure 12: Labour force participation rate, men and women, ages 15-64, eastern and western Germany



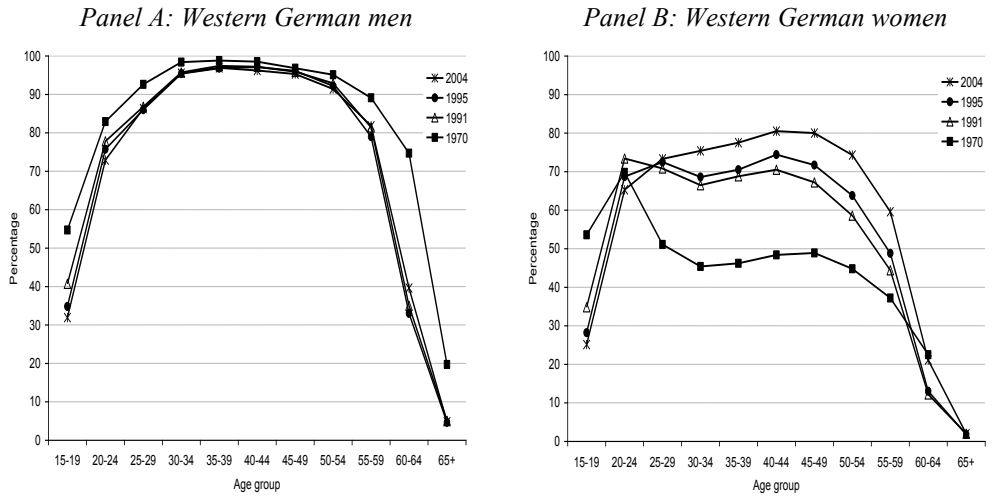
Source: 1991-2004: Bothfeld et al. (2005), Tables 3.A.1a, 3.A.1b ; 2005-2009 : Statistisches Bundesamt (2010a).

Age-specific labour force participation

Women's as well as men's labour market participation rates differ by age. Particularly among people in the youngest age group (ages 15-19), who are spending more time in education, the labour force participation rates in both eastern and western Germany have declined (Figure 13, Figure 14). In western Germany, the pattern of male labour force participation behaviour did not change between 1970 and 2004 (Figure 13, panel 1). Although there was an overall decline in the labour force participation rate of men in western Germany within this period, this decline was pronounced only among the youngest and the two oldest age groups. The decline in the youngest age group was attributable to their longer participation in education, and the labour force participation rate of the oldest age group declined due to earlier retirement. In the core age groups between age 30 and 54, the decline was relatively small among western German men. However, the age-specific labour force participation rates for western German women

look quite different from those of men (Figure 13, panel 2). Apart from the lower overall participation levels, women's labour market participation in 1970 was considerably lower during the childbearing and childrearing ages. Almost 70% of 20-24-year-old women were active in the labour market in 1970, but the share fell to 51.1% among 25-29-year-olds and to 45.4% among 30-34-year-olds. Among women between the ages of 35-49, labour force participation was only slightly higher. This pattern has changed over time. Although the labour force participation rates of women in their childbearing and childrearing ages were still lower than for the younger and older age groups in 1991 and 1995, this pattern was no longer observable in 2004.

Figure 13: Age-specific labour force participation rates, men and women, western Germany, selected years

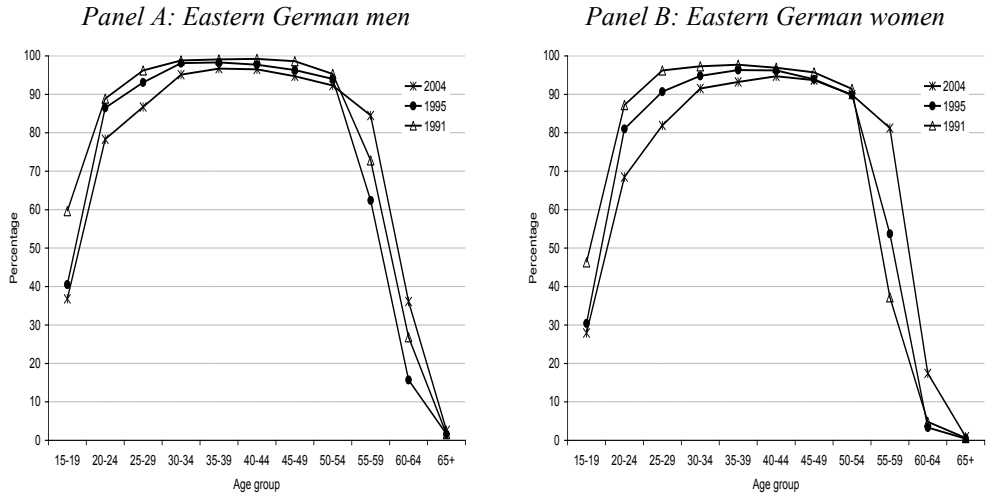


Source: Bothfeld et al. (2005), Table 3.A.3a.

In contrast to the patterns found in western Germany, female labour force participation rates in eastern Germany have been more similar to men's, even in the age groups when women have children (Figure 14, panel 2). However, there was also a decline between 1991 and 2004 among women in these age groups, even though the labour force participation rates of these women were still higher than those of their

western counterparts in the years 1991, 1995 and 2004. Among eastern German men, a decline in the labour force participation rate can be observed among all groups over time, mainly among the youngest and the oldest age groups, while the decline in the core age groups was marginal (Figure 14, panel 1).

Figure 14: Age-specific labour force participation rate, men and women, eastern Germany, selected years



Source: Bothfeld et al. (2005), Table 3.A.3b.

Part-time employment in Germany

As in the period between World War II and unification, the recent increase in the female employment rate in western Germany has been based solely on a rise of part-time work. As was already mentioned, the part-time employment rate among western German women strongly increased in the 1960s. After a period of stagnation in the 1970s and 1980s, the increase continued in the 1990s.

For men in West Germany, part-time employment played almost no role at all until 1989, when less than 2% of employed men were part-time workers. The proportion of part-timers among men slightly increased after 1990, but remained well below 5%, and did not exceed this value until 2000. In 2004, 6.2% of male employees were part-time workers in western Germany (Figure 15). In eastern Germany, the

proportion of male part-time employees is similar. However, the part-time rate differs sharply between eastern and western German women. Although an increase in part-time employment over time can be observed among eastern German women, their part-time rate is still lower than that of their western German counterparts. In 2004, 27.8% of all employed eastern German were part-time workers, compared to 45.3% in western Germany.

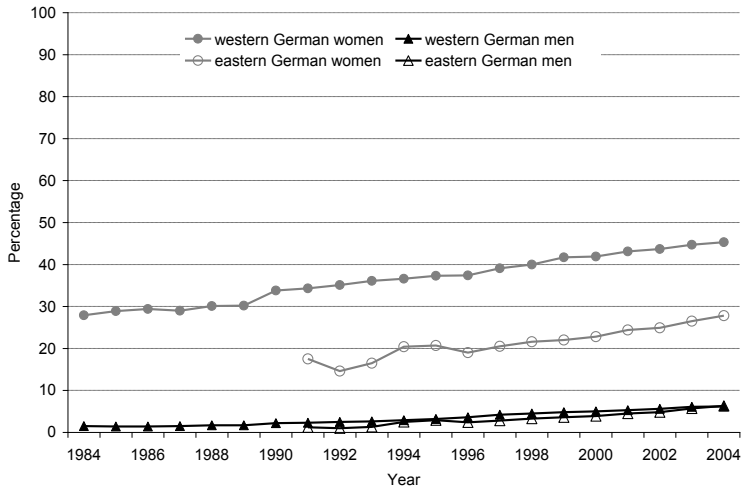
Apart from the high part-time rates among women and men in their early sixties, part-time employment is highest between the ages 35 and 45 among western German women. The trends in eastern Germany are similar, as women are more likely to be in part-time employment when they are in their childbearing and childrearing ages (Figure 16). However, in eastern Germany this phase falls in the age groups 30-40, which indicates not only a persisting difference in the ages at childbearing between eastern and western German women, but also an earlier return to the labour market among eastern German women.

There are also differences in terms of the reasons for part-time work between eastern and western Germany. While in 2004 almost two-thirds of western German women stated that they were working part-time because of personal or familial responsibilities, the proportion was only about one-fifth among their eastern German counterparts. Among men, the proportions were much smaller. However, 13.1% of western German but only 3.8% of eastern German men were working part-time due to familial or personal responsibilities. Unlike in western Germany, the main reason for women's and men's part-time employment in eastern Germany was that they had not found full-time employment (56.4% of women and 46.2% of men) (Bothfeld 2005: 140).

The high proportions of part-time working women shows that this type of employment can no longer be regarded as atypical, since it is more common than full-time employment for women in some age

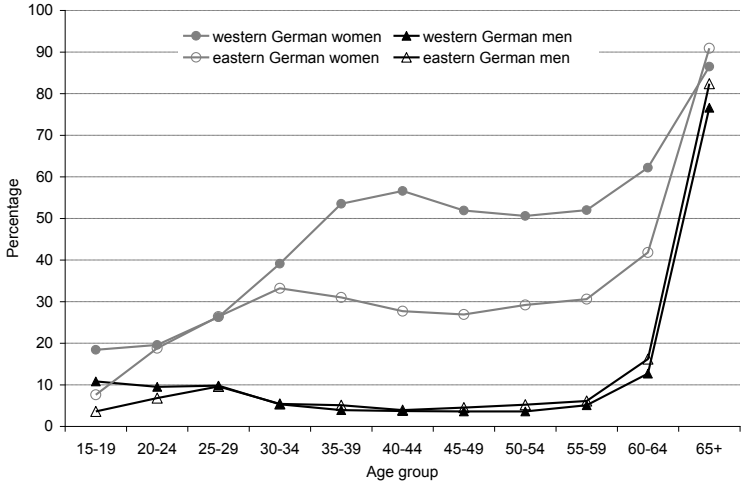
groups, particularly in western Germany. However, despite its prevalence, part-time employment still only provides atypical social security, since the standard of social security is related to full-time employment (Bothfeld 2005: 142).

Figure 15: Women's and men's part-time rates in eastern and western Germany, 1984 (1991)-2004



Notes: The part-time rate indicates the proportion of part-time employed persons among employees above age 15.
Source: Bothfeld et al. (2005), Tab. 3.A.10a, 3.A.10b

Figure 16: Women's and men's part-time rates by age groups in eastern and western Germany, 2004



Source: Bothfeld al. (2005), Tab. 3.A.11

Unemployment

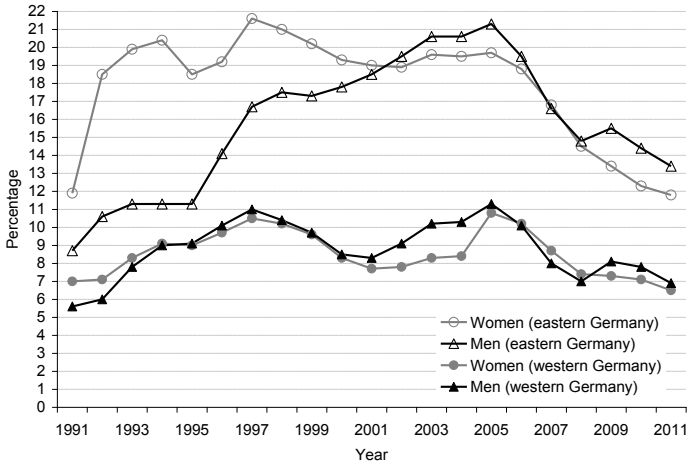
Whereas unemployment did not officially exist in the GDR, due to massive cuts in job numbers, unemployment rates for both men and women in East Germany increased to very high levels after unification. In 1991, the official unemployment rate was 10.2%, and it increased steadily during the 1990s. However, in the early 1990s, active labour market policy measures prevented the rates from rising further. In addition, the size of the labour force decreased due to a later entry into employment among young people, as well as early retirement schemes (Engelbrech and Reinberg 1998: 47). In I998, 19.2% of eastern Germans were registered as unemployed, and in 2004 an unemployment level of 20.1% was reached (Bothfeld, Klammer, Klenner et al 2005; Table 3.A.12b). Women were more severely affected than men in the 1990s. While the officially registered unemployment level was 8.7% among men in 1991, 11.9% of women were registered as unemployed (Figure 17). In 1992, the rate increased to 18.5% among women and 10.6% among men. Due to increasing job losses, particularly in the construction industry, unemployment among men further increased and almost approached the unemployment rates of women. In 1997, unemployment among eastern German women had reached a level of 21.6%, compared to 16.7% among men. After that time, the female unemployment rate was similar to or lower than men's unemployment in eastern Germany. Less qualified women were most affected by the job losses in eastern Germany. In 1995, the rate of registered unemployment was at a level of almost 50% for women without vocational training, while the rate was only 5.3% for university graduates (Engelbrech and Reinberg 1997: 25). The differences in unemployment between educational groups were similar among men.

In western Germany, the unification boom led to a decline in registered unemployment between 1990 and 1992 (from 8.4% to 7.1% among women and 6.3% to 6.0% among men, see Figure 10, Figure 17). However, between 1992 and 1995 a reduction in the number of

jobs led to a loss of about 700,000 jobs among men and about 140,000 jobs among women (Engelbrech and Reinberg 1998: 40). The reason for the reduction in the number of jobs was mainly the structural shift from the processing industry to the service sector. Although women were less affected in absolute numbers by this structural change since they were underrepresented in the processing sector, proportionally they were more affected than men.

Since unification, the levels of unemployment among western Germans have been much lower than in eastern Germany. While in 1995 almost 15% of the eastern German active population were unemployed, the rate was nearly six percentage points lower in the western part of the country (9.1%). Nine years later, eastern German unemployment (20.1%) was more than twice the western German rate (9.4%) (Bothfeld, Klammer, Klenner et al. 2005, Tables 3.A.12a, 3.A.12b). In western Germany, the increase in unemployment over the years was mainly a consequence of an increasing labour supply (women and migrants), and not of a reduction in the number of jobs available, as in eastern Germany. While the female unemployment rate had been higher than the male rate starting in the early 1970s, the rates converged in the mid-1990s. Since then, the female unemployment rate in western Germany has been very similar to or even lower than the male rate (Figure 17). On the one hand, the lower unemployment rate among West German women can be ascribed to their greater representation in the service occupations, which are less affected by the business cycle. On the other hand, women are less likely to register as unemployed if they lose their jobs, particularly if the benefits are means-tested, and they anticipate that they would not be eligible for benefits (Bothfeld 2005: 147).

Figure 17: Unemployment rate (registered unemployment), men and women, eastern and western Germany, 1991-2011



Source: 1991-2004 : Bothfeld et al. (2005), Tables 3.A.12a, 3.A.12b; 2005-2011: Bundesagentur für Arbeit (2012).

The impact of children on women's and men's employment

As in many other Western countries, in Germany women with children are less likely to be employed than childless women, while men with children are more likely to be employed than childless men. While the employment rate of 20- to 49-year-old women with no children under age 12 is almost 80%, only 60% of women with at least one child under age 12 are employed in Germany. This difference in employment participation is higher in Germany than the EU-25 average (60.4% among mothers and 75.1% among childless women), and it is also higher than in countries such as France or Finland. However, in the UK the gap in the employment participation rates of women with and without children is a little higher (21.4 percentage points). In contrast, 83.1% of childless men and 89.7% of fathers are active in the labour market in Germany. In the UK, 90.8% of fathers and 87.1% childless men are employed (Bothfeld et al. al. 2005b: table 3.A.24).

Furthermore, women's employment participation, as well as the extent of their employment, increases with the ages of their children. The greatest difference between eastern and western Germany can be ob-

served among women with children under age three. Less than one-third of western German women with at least one child under age three were employed in 2004, compared with 44% in eastern Germany. The main reasons for this East-West gap are the differences in women's use of parental leave and in their behaviour regarding the return to work (Bothfeld 2005: 174).

Women's return to work after childbirth

Women's behaviour regarding the return to work differed considerably between East and West Germany, and differences persisted even after unification in 1990 (Bredtmann, Kluve and Schaffner 2009; Drasch 2012). Most East German women returned to work very quickly after having a child, generally after the end of maternity leave. In contrast, West German women had longer work interruptions after childbirth, and generally did not return to work before their children started kindergarten or school (Bredtmann, Kluve and Schaffner 2009; Kurz 1998;). Studies have shown that in West Germany younger cohorts returned to employment earlier than older cohorts (Lauterbach 1991), and that labour market experience and full-time work before childbirth had positive effects on the return to work (Bredtmann, Kluve and Schaffner 2009; Ondrich, Spiess and Yang 1996). Furthermore, women's education has been shown to be a major determinant for the transition into employment after childbirth before and after unification (Bredtmann, Kluve and Schaffner 2009; Drasch 2012; Weber 2004).

The legal regulations regarding the length of leave and the length of the parental leave benefit have also been shown to be a strong determinant of women's decision to re-enter employment in Germany. This has been found for East and West Germany before unification (Drasch 2012; Ondrich, Spiess and Yang 1996; Weber 2004), but also for the period thereafter. The extension of leave over time led to longer inter-

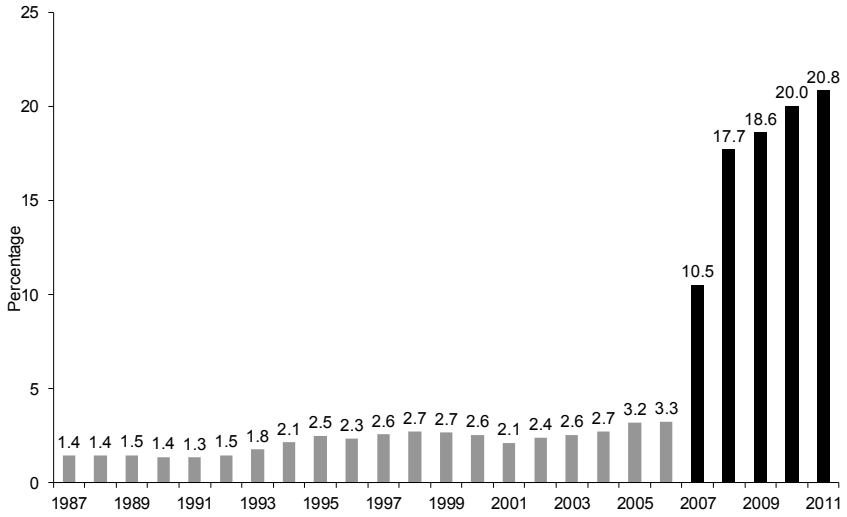
ruptions from work (Ondrich, Spiess and Yang 1996; Weber 2004). Although parental leave can be used by both mothers and fathers since 1986, mainly women take advantage of the opportunity to interrupt their employment to care for their children. With the introduction of leave, the employment rate of western German women with children under age three decreased from 28% in 1986 to 23% in the year 2000. In eastern Germany, the proportion was 27% (Beckmann and Engelbrech 2002: 266). Furthermore, western German women used parental leave for a longer period of time than their eastern German counterparts. In western Germany, 69% of women with a child under age one were on parental leave in the year 2000, while among eastern German women, the proportion was 79%. However, in the second year after childbirth, 51% of western German mothers were still on leave, compared to only 36% of the eastern German mothers. In the third year, the proportion was still 41% among the western German mothers, but was only 14% among the eastern German mothers. The use of parental leave is still very gender-specific. Women have been far more likely than men to make use of the leave after the birth of a child, particularly before the introduction of the income-related parental leave benefit in 2007. Taking a long parental leave can have negative consequences for women, including a deterioration of skills, lower wages and less occupational upward mobility (Aisenbrey, Evertsson and Grunow 2009; Gangl and Ziefle 2009; Ondrich, Spiess and Yang 2002; Trappe and Rosenfeld 2000).

A main reason for the gender-specific use of parental leave has been the income differences between men and women, as a man may be deterred from taking leave if his contribution to the household income is higher than that of his female partner.

Fathers' use of parental leave

Men's participation in the use of leave had been rare before the income-related parental leave benefit was introduced in 2007. When parental leave was introduced in 1986 it allowed women and men equally to use leave. There are no exact numbers available that provide information on the use of leave. The official statistics, however, give on the information of men who received parental leave benefit as a share of all leave-takers. Figure 18 shows that less than 4% of all recipients of parental leave benefit were men in the period until 2006. This means that the share of women was about 96% or higher during that time. The main reasons for the low level of fathers who decided to use leave were the low financial compensation during the time of leave and worries about negative consequences for their career (Beckmann 2001; Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach 2005; Vaskovics and Rost 1999).

Figure 18: Percentage of fathers who received parental leave benefit as a proportion of all benefit recipients, Germany, 1987-2011



Notes: 1987-1990 only West Germany, 1987-1994, 2007 approved applications; 1995-2006 only first time applications, from 1994 referring to the application during the child's first year of life, 2001, 2004: only partial recording; 2005: without Baden-Württemberg. 2007: break in the series.
Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (1991; 1993; 1996; 1999; 2002; 2003; 2004b; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008a; 2009; 2010c; 2011, 2012).

When the income-related parental leave benefit was introduced in 2007, the number of fathers who received the benefit rose sharply and reached a level of one fifth in 2011.

The gender wage gap

In 2006, the average gross hourly wage among women was 23% lower than among men (Statistisches Bundesamt 2008b). However, this unadjusted gender pay gap does not take into account the many reasons for the differences in women's and men's wages, such as occupational segregation and gender-specific employment histories, which are characterised by employment interruptions after childbirth and part-time work thereafter among women, and full-time work among men. There are several data sources that may be used in estimating income differences between men and women. All of them have their advantages and disadvantages, and they give different results (Ziegler 2005: 262f.). However, all of them show that although income differences between men and women have narrowed, gender gaps persist. Estimations based on the German Socio-Economic Panel showed that in western Germany in 2003, a full-time working woman's average gross hourly wage was only 76.7% of a man's. In eastern Germany, the income difference between men and women was smaller: a woman's average hourly wage was 90.2% of a man's (Ziegler 2005: 262f.). In a European comparison, Germany as a whole, together with the United Kingdom, ranks among the countries with a large income difference between men and women. While the EU-25 average for the male-female income gap was 15% in 2003, it was 23% in Germany and 22% in the UK (Ziegler 2005: 266).

As has already been mentioned, there are several reasons for the gender pay gap. Income differences may be attributable to structural characteristics, such as different types of education and employment in different branches and occupations, as well as to income discrimina-

tion due to gender.

One main structural reason for the gap is that women and men are employed in different fields and occupations. Women are concentrated in jobs with earnings at the bottom part of the income scale, such as in the textile industry, trade and industry, and in the service sector; while men are more likely to work in jobs with high wages, such as the chemical industry, energy and water supply, and the motor manufacturing and machine construction industry. (Ziegler 2005: 269).

In addition, there are also gender-specific wage differences within the branches. In general, income differences between men and women are smaller in sectors with lower wages (Ziegler 2005: 270). Furthermore, the occupation people work in has a major impact on their income. In general, blue-collar workers earn less than white-collar workers. A comparison of the high-income occupations among men with the high-income occupations among women shows that the highest paid female occupation (lawyer) only ranks 10th on the male income scale. Generally, the more female-dominated an occupation is, the lower the wages are (Ziegler 2005: 269; WSI, INIFES and Forschungsgruppe Tondorf 2001). Additionally, women in the same occupations also earn less than men.

Another key reason for the differences in wages between men and women is the income hierarchy within firms. People who have more job responsibilities also generally have higher incomes. Data show that there are differences in grading between women and men according to their responsibilities within firms. These differences are greater the higher the job responsibilities are graded (Ziegler 2005: 275ff.). In addition, the firm size plays a role for income differences between men and women. Employees in smaller firms earn less than their counterparts in larger firms, and women are more likely to be employed in smaller firms (Bothfeld 2005: 169f.). Furthermore, smaller firms often lack a grading system with different hierarchy levels, and

bigger firms are also more likely to have a wage system under the collective agreement. Special annual payments further increase the income differences between men and women, since on average women get lower payments than men. The differences between eastern German men and women are smaller than between western German men and women.

Individual characteristics, such as age, education, the duration of employment at a particular firm, as well as the extent of the employment, further contribute to income differences between men and women. Regarding age, the data show that the income differences increase with age, which reflects the different employment and career patterns of women and men with regard to childrearing (Ziegler 2005: 281f.). Although income increases with education for both men and women, women have lower wages than men with an equivalent education; this difference increases with rising qualifications and age (Ziegler 2005: 283). Another main reason for women's lower incomes is their lower number of working hours. As has already been discussed, women are much more likely to work part-time than men, particularly if they are mothers, but the hourly gross income for part-time work is less than for full-time work, which decreases women's wages. Additionally, promotion to a higher position is very unlikely as a part-time employee (Ziegler 2005: 287).

Most comparisons of men's and women's wages look at gross incomes, which is reasonable since the tax system takes certain characteristics, such as the marital status and the number of children, into account in estimating the net income. However, if women's and men's net incomes are compared, the gender wage gap further widens, as the German tax-splitting system deducts high taxes from the incomes of secondary earners, who are usually women, as was noted in the previous discuss of the gender gap in gross incomes (Schratzenstaller 2002; Holst 2003).

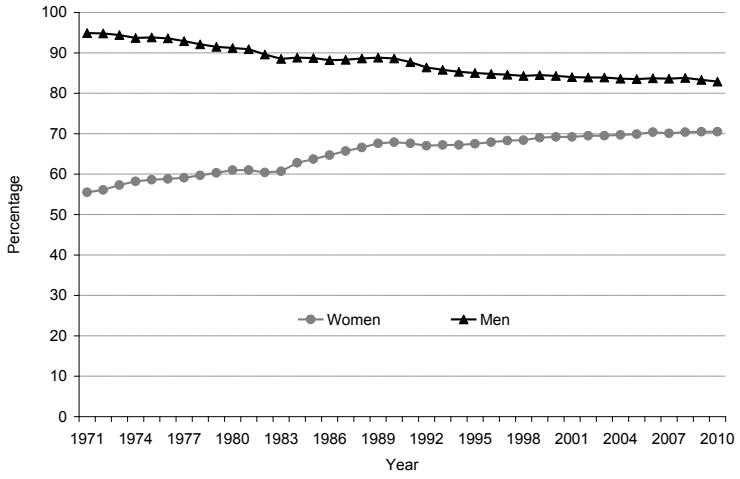
Apart from the structural factors that have already been discussed, there is still a proportion of the gender wage gap that cannot be explained solely by these factors. This must be ascribed to gender discrimination on the labour market (Ziegler 2005: 289ff.).

4.2 Great Britain

Labour market activity, employment and unemployment

Like in western Germany and other western European countries, the labour force participation of British men has declined since the early 1970s, while the female labour force participation has increased (Figure 19). Whereas in 1971 94.9% of British men between the ages of 16 and 64 were active in the labour market, the share was 55.5% among British women. Women's activity rate had increased to 67.6% 20 years later, while the male labour force participation rate had decreased to 87.7%. Although there was a slight decrease in women's labour force participation in the recessions of the early 1980s and the early 1990s, the female rate increased thereafter, while the male rate continued to decrease. In 2010, 70.5% of British women were active in the labour market, compared with 82.9% of British men. Men's labour force participation rate was similar to that of men in eastern (82.8%) and western Germany (81.9%), while the activity rate of British women was slightly higher than that of western German women (69.7%) but about six percentage points lower than that of eastern German women (76.1%) in 2010.

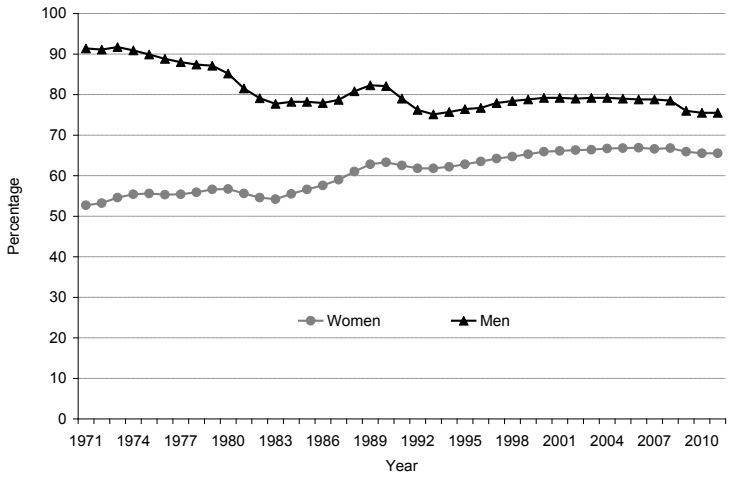
Figure 19: Labour force participation rate, men and women, ages 16-64 in the United Kingdom, 1971-2010



Source: Office for National Statistics (2012)

The patterns in the employment rates of British men and women have been similar to those of the labour force participation rates (Figure 20). While the male employment rate has declined over the years, there has been an increase in the female employment rate. In 1971, 91.4% of men were in paid employment, compared with 52.7% of women. After a strong decline in the male employment rate and a more moderate decline in the female employment in the recession of the early 1980s, both rates increased again. In 1989, the female employment rate had increased to 62.8%, while the male employment rate was 82.3%. In the early 1990s, the recession led to a strong decrease in men's employment. While the male employment rate recovered slightly thereafter, the female employment rate was not severely affected, and continued to increase. The recent crisis led to a decline in British women's and men's employment. In 2010, 75.5% of men and 65.5% of women were employed.

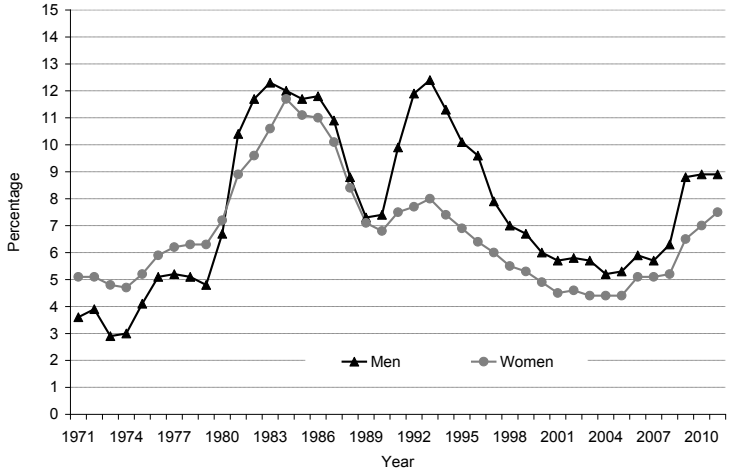
Figure 20: Employment rate, men and women, ages 16-64 in the United Kingdom, 1971-2011



Source: Office for National Statistics (2012)

As in other Western European countries, unemployment increased in the United Kingdom after the 1973 oil crisis (Figure 21). While in 1973 only 2.9% of men and 4.8% of women were searching for work, the rates rose sharply to 12.3% among men and 10.6% among women in 1983. Female and male unemployment decreased thereafter, but in the recession of the early 1990s unemployment increased dramatically, particularly among men (1993: 12.4%), while the rise in female unemployment was less severe. After the early 1990s, unemployment levels continuously decreased among men and women, reaching quite low levels in the mid-2000s. In 2004, 4.4% of women and 5.2% of men were unemployed. However, when the financial crisis hit the UK, unemployment increased again. In 2009, 8.8% of men and 6.5% of women were searching for work.

Figure 21: Unemployment rate, men and women, ages 16-64 in the United Kingdom, 1971-2011



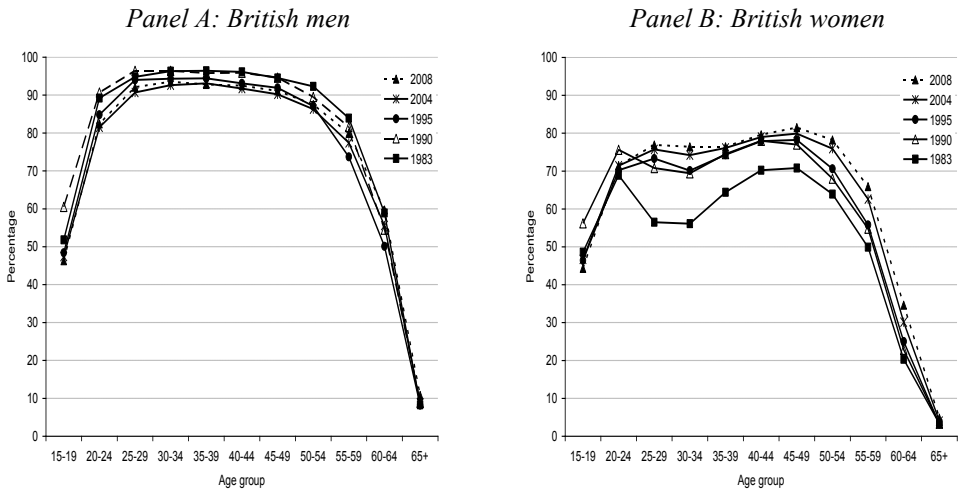
Source: Office for National Statistics (2012)

Age-specific labour force participation

Like in other Western European countries, the typical male employment pattern in the UK is continuous labour market participation after leaving education until the age of about 55, when male labour force participation starts to decline due to early retirement, sickness and disability. Although there has been a general decline in the male labour force participation rate, which has already been described, the general pattern of continuous activity in the labour market among British men did not change over the years (Figure 22, Panel 1). The female pattern did, however, shift over time. Like in many other Western European countries, including western Germany, British women's labour force participation followed an M-shaped pattern, which can be very clearly seen for the year 1983, and still for 1990 and 1995, although it has become less distinctive (Figure 22, Panel 2). This means that women at young ages who enter the labour market after finishing their education have relatively high labour force participation rates. When women are in their childbearing and childrearing ages (mid-twenties to mid-thirties), their labour market participation decreases. After this time,

their activity rate rises again. In 2004 and 2008, however, the M-pattern could no longer be seen. There was still a small decline in women's labour force participation rate in the relevant age groups, but it was much less distinctive than in the decades before. This shows that a smaller proportion of women dropped out of the labour market when they became mothers. Instead, they took shorter breaks based on their leave entitlement, and returned to the labour market.

Figure 22: Age-specific labour force participation rates, men and women, United Kingdom, selected years



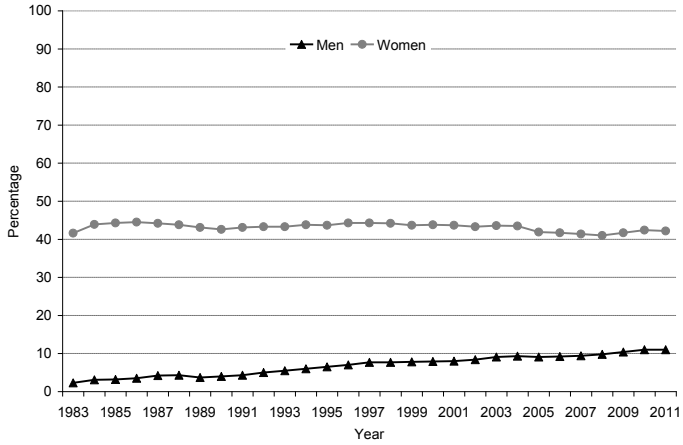
Source: Eurostat (2012).

Part-time employment in Britain

As in western Germany, the increase of British women's female labour market participation can mainly be ascribed to an increase in part-time employment. Like western Germany, Britain has one of the highest proportions of female part-time workers. Since the 1980s, the level has been more or less stable at over 40%. In 2011, 42.2% of employed women worked part-time. The share of men who work part time is much smaller, although there has been an increase since the early 1980s. While in 1983 only 2.3% of male employees worked part

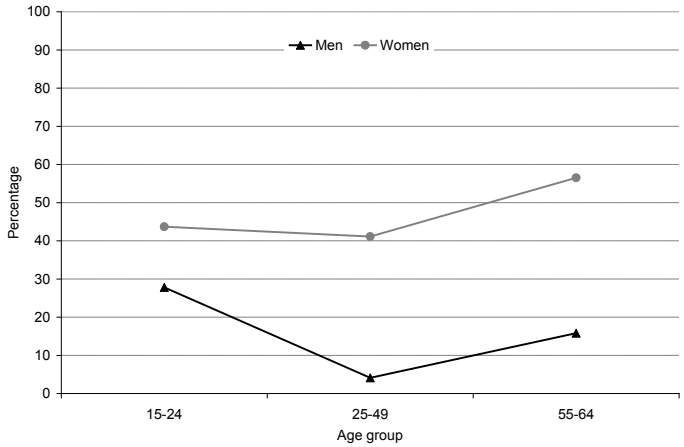
time, the share increased to 11% in 2011 (Figure 23). However, the reasons for part-time employment are different among men and women. While women in the core age groups usually use part-time employment to combine family and work duties, men's part-time employment has increased due to changes in the educational system and in labour market policies, and not due to their greater involvement in care (Fagan 2009). One-third of male part-time employees were students and another 25% were men over age 55 in 2008. Among women, only 14% were students and 9% were over age 55. (Fagan 2009: 38f.). This corresponds to the age-specific part-time rates (Figure 24), which show that only 4.1% of employed men between the ages 25-49 were working part time, while the share among women in the same age group was exactly ten times higher (41.1%).

Figure 23: Part-time quota (proportion of part-time employed as a proportion of all employees, (self-definition), men and women, aged 16-64, United Kingdom, 1983-2011



Source: Eurostat (2012).

Figure 24: Age specific part-time rates, men and women, United Kingdom, 2004



Source: Eurostat (2012).

Women's return to work in Britain

Women's work interruptions in connection with childbearing have been investigated in several studies; for Great Britain, mainly cohort studies on this topic are available. They showed that women of younger cohorts returned to work earlier than older cohorts (Joshi and Hinde 1993). The factors that were found to have a positive influence on women's quicker return to employment were a high education, high earnings, as well as higher-level and professional jobs (McRae 1993, Gustafsson et al. 1996; Dex et al. 1998).

Compared to Germany or Sweden, it has been found that British mothers return to the labour market sooner, which has been ascribed to the fact that maternity leave has been much shorter in Britain (Gustafsson et al. 1996). Regarding women's partnership status, the findings were mixed. While it has been found that women who lived in a partnership were less likely to return to employment (Dex et al. 1998), another study found a negative effect for lone mothers (McRae 1993). Furthermore, age was shown to have a positive impact on British mothers' return to work, which has was ascribed to the higher career orientation of older mothers (Gustaffson et al. 1996).

Earnings differentials between men and women in the United Kingdom

As in Germany, there is still a considerable gender wage gap in Great Britain. Although the Equal Pay Act has been in force since 1975 and the gender wage gap has been narrowed since then, there are still marked differences in men's and women's earnings. In the period 2004-2007, the overall gender pay gap was 19%. Between full-time working men and women, the gap was 15%. (Olsen et al. 2010). The reasons for the gap are manifold. One reason is occupational sex segregation, as many women work in typical "female jobs", which are under-valued. Sectoral segregation also plays an important role. In addition, women's career interruptions due to childbirth and caring mean they have less work experience than men. Another major factor that has an impact on the wage differences between men and women is that women have less work experience in full-time employment, often due to the need to combine family and work. However, part-time employment is related to occupational segregation (Bardasi and Gornick 2008), and is often concentrated in low-skilled and low-paid jobs (Jacobs 1999). Hence, there is not only a gender wage gap, but also a "family gap" (Waldfogel 1998). As in Germany, there is also a considerable proportion of the gender gap in the UK that cannot be explained by observed characteristics (Olsen et al. 2010).

4.3 Summary

As in other western European countries, there has been a steady rise in women's labour market participation in West Germany and Great Britain after World War II. However, this increase has mainly been in the form of higher rates of part-time employment among women, particularly among mothers. In contrast, due to economic necessities and for ideological reasons, women's participation in paid work was a matter of course in the GDR, even if they had children. The East

German female labour force participation rate was almost as high as men's, and the proportion of part-time working women was rather small.

German unification led to a radical change in the labour market change in eastern Germany that resulted in a massive reduction in jobs, and thus to high unemployment, which affected women in particular. Their employment rate decreased substantially, and rapidly reached a level similar to that of western German women. However, due to the much higher unemployment rate among eastern German women, the female labour force participation rate has always been higher in eastern Germany than in western Germany.

In Britain, the female labour force participation and employment rates have been slightly higher than the rates in western Germany, although the part-time employment rate is one of the highest in Europe among women. However, due to a lack of generous leave policies, women's return to work after childbearing tends to be much faster than in West Germany.

In both parts of Germany and in Great Britain, full-time employment has been regarded as the norm for men, and especially for fathers. Men's use of parental leave was a very rare phenomenon in Germany before the introduction of the income-related parental leave benefit. Since then, the share of fathers among parental leave benefit recipients has increased steadily. However, the periods of leave fathers use are much shorter than mothers' time out from the labour market.

Policies that support the division of labour between men and women, attitudes regarding men's and women's caring obligations, as well as the gender wage gap can be regarded as some of the reasons for men's and women's unequal participation in the labour market and in caring obligations.

II EMPIRICAL ANALYSES

5 Descriptive analyses on employment patterns among women and men

This chapter gives a descriptive overview on employment trends among women and men in the two parts of Germany and Great Britain. I will first outline the employment rates for men and women by parenthood status and education, and then describe the development in the average working hours. This will be followed by a presentation of the results on the development in women's and men's employment status in the two parts of Germany and Britain. While the first part compares women and men with and without children, the second part concentrates on mothers' and fathers' employment behaviour. The focus is on the role of partnership status and the age of the youngest child. In a third part, I present numbers on the prevalence of employment patterns among couples with children in the two parts of Germany and in Great Britain. The last section describes mothers' characteristics according to their partnership status.

5.1 Data, sample and variables

Data and sample

The data for eastern and western Germany come from the Scientific Use Files of the German microcensuses of the years 1996, 2000, 2004 and 2008. For the analyses on Great Britain, the Labour Force Survey Household datasets of the years 1997[36], 2000, 2004 and 2008 are used.

A description of the microcensus and the Labour Force Survey can be found in the appendix. The data are pooled for each Great Britain and

[36] The LFS household datasets from 1997 onwards have undergone a re-weighting procedure using the newest population estimates from 2007 with a change in the weighting methodology. While I was conducting these analyses only the datasets prior to 1997 were available, with the former weights using the 2003 population estimates. Since comparing estimates of datasets prior to 1997 with those from the datasets of 1997 and onwards is not recommended, for reasons of comparability I decided to use the LFS household dataset for the year 1997 instead of 1996.

Germany and then separate analyses are conducted for the two parts of Germany and Britain are conducted.

For the analyses, I have selected women and men between the ages of 18 and 50 who were living in private households in Great Britain and in eastern or western Germany, and who were the head or the partner of the head of a family. Mothers or fathers were defined as people who were living with at least one child under the age of 18[37] in the family.

Dependent variables

For the descriptives several independent variavles have been used.

Employment rate

The employment rate is defined as the ratio of employed people to the respective population. Within the group of employed people, those who are currently on maternity, paternity or parental leave are included, too.

Working time

The working time is definded as the mean ususal working hours a person works. Overtime is not considered. Non-employed persons working time iss coded as zero. For those who are currently on leave and did not work, working time is coded as zero, too. However, if they work during their leave I use the actual working hours to measure their working time.

[37] To make the German microcensus and the British LFS comparable, I included all children under the age of 18 in the LFS, regardless of whether they were defined as dependent or non-dependent in the LFS, as long as their marital status was single, never married.

Employment status

The definition of the employment status mainly follows the ILO definition of employment, unemployment and inactivity (Hussmanns 2007). People are regarded as employed if they work at least one hour per week for an employer, in self-employment or in a family business. Unlike the ILO definition, I do not include people on maternity or paternity leave in the category of the employed but assign them a separate category. Additionally, I distinguish between people in full-time, part-time and marginal employment according to the usual hours they work, except for people on maternity, paternity and parental leave. People are regarded as full-time employed if they work at least 30 hours per week. Those who work between 16 and 29 hours are long part-time employees and people who work less than 16 hours are regarded as short part-time employees. Unemployed people are those who are not employed, have searched for work within the last four weeks and are available for the labour market within the next two weeks. People are regarded as inactive if they are not employed and do not search for work and/or are not available for work. The group of inactive people is further distinguished between those who are in education and those who are not in education.

Employment pattern of couples

For the description on the employment pattern of couples, I combined the employment status of the woman and her male partner. However, the fine distinction of the employment as it was used for the individual employment status could not be combined in a meaningful way for the two partners because there would have been too many categories. I, therefore, decided to collapse some categories. In addition, I excluded those who were inactive and in education. Couples are distinguished according to the following categories: (1) both partners work full-time (at least 30 hours per week); (2) the woman works full-time, the man

works part-time (1-29 hours per week); (3) the woman works full-time, the man is not employed or on parental or paternity leave; (4) the woman works part-time, the man full-time; (5) both are part-time employed; (6) the woman is part-time employed, the man is not employed or on parental or paternity leave; (7) the woman is not employed or on maternity or parental leave, the man works full-time; (8) the woman is not employed or on maternity or parental leave, the man works part-time; and (9) both partner are not employed or on maternity/paternity or on parental leave.

Independent variables

In the descriptive analyses several variables are used according to which the employment behaviour is described.

I distinguish women and men according to their education. *Education* is defined slightly different in the British and the German data. I use the CASMIN classification for Great Britain, which has three educational groups: group 1 have a low level, group 2 have a medium level and group 3 have a high level of education (Brauns and Steinmann 1999). For the German classification, I only use the vocational education as an indicator for low (no vocational degree), medium (vocational degree) or high education (college or university degree) levels of education. This is mainly because the German labour market requires at least a vocational qualification, and people who only have a school degree, such as a university entrance qualification ('*Abitur*', which is classified as level 2 in the CASMIN classification) have much lower chances of getting a job.

Mothers and fathers are distinguished by the *age of the youngest child* (0 years, 1 year, 2 years, 3-5 years, 6-9 years or 10-17 years). I further distinguish women and men according to their *partnership status* (married, cohabiting, never married lone parent and divorced, separated or widowed lone parent).

In the descriptives on the socio-demographic characteristics of women according to their partnership status the variables *women's age* (age groups 18-25 years, 26-30 years, 31-35 years and 36-40 and 41-50 years) and the mean age (arithmetic mean) are used. Furthermore, the distribution according to the age of the youngest child is shown (0-2 years, 3-5 years, 6-9 years, 10-17 years) and the mean age (arithmetic mean) of the youngest child. In addition, the *number of children* (one, two or three and more) is used as a variable. While I use *ethnicity* (white; black Caribbean, black African or other black; Asian or other ethnicity) in Great Britain, I use *nationality* of the mother (German, non-German) in the German analyses. Another variable is the *size of place of residence* in Germany. I distinguish between communities with less than 20,000 inhabitants, cities with 20,000-499,999 inhabitants, and cities with 500,000 inhabitants or more. For Great Britain, the data do not contain such an indicator.

5.2 Employment among women and men with and without children

Women's and men's employment rate

In the two parts of Germany and in Great Britain, the maternal employment rate has been lower than the employment rate of women without children; while for men, the opposite has been the case (Table 1).

Table 1: Women's and men's employment rate, Great Britain, eastern and western Germany, 1996 (1997), 2000, 2004, 2008

	Women				Men			
	1996/7	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1996/7**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
				Great Britain				
All people	70.5	72.7	73.3	73.6	85.5	87.5	87.3	86.9
With children under age 18	63.3	66.4	66.8	67.4	89.0	90.5	90.6	90.9
Without children under age 18	80.7	81.6	82.5	82.2	82.0	84.6	84.0	83.3
				Western Germany				
All people	65.9	70.4	70.1	75.0	87.8	89.4	85.6	88.4
People with children	55.5	61.5	62.2	67.9	91.8	93.1	90.1	92.7
People without children	77.7	80.6	79.3	82.3	84.1	86.0	81.6	85.2
				Eastern Germany				
All people	74.4	74.7	72.7	76.1	85.7	82.2	75.7	81.5
People with children	73.6	72.4	70.2	71.6	90.0	87.1	81.7	87.4
People without children	75.8	77.6	75.2	79.5	79.7	77.7	71.4	78.5

Notes: Great Britain: (I). Sample: The sample consists of men and women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence, and (2) are heads or partner of the heads of a of a family. (II.) Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034).
Germany: (I). Sample: The sample consists of men and women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence, and (2) are heads or partner of the heads of a of a family. Sources: SUFs of teh German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008.

There was an overall slight increase in the employment rates of 18-50-year-old men in Great Britain between 1997 and 2008 and western Germany between 1996 and 2008, while among eastern German men, there was a sharp decline in the employment rate until 2004, followed by a recovery between 2004 and 2008. In 2008, western German men had the highest employment rate (88.4%) relative to eastern German men (81.5%) and British men (86.9%). In contrast, the female employment rate in eastern Germany (2008: 76.1%) was slightly higher than in western Germany (75.0%) and in Great Britain (73.6%). However, unlike in Britain or eastern Germany, there was a massive increase of 9.1 percentage points in women's employment participation in western Germany between 1996 and 2008. This increase was most pronounced among women with children. In 1996 only 55.5% of western German mothers were employed, but their employment rate had increased to 67.9% by 2008. The increase over the same period among British mothers (4.1 percentage points) was smaller, while eastern German women with children experienced a decline in their employment rate (-2.0 percentage points).

Employment rate by education

Investigating the employment rate by educational degree showed that employment participation varied considerably by education in Great Britain and in the two parts of Germany, with the lowest employment rates found among the less qualified, and the highest employment rates found among highly educated men and women. However, the employment participation of the different educational groups developed differently in the two parts of Germany and Great Britain (Table 2).

Table 2: Women's and men's employment rate by education, Great Britain, eastern and western Germany, 1996 (1997), 2000, 2004, 2008

	Women				Men			
	1996/7	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1996/7**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
All people				**Great Britain**				
No/low education	56.0	54.6	52.2	45.8	71.2	74.0	73.0	71.3
Medium education	72.1	75.4	74.8	75.4	87.2	89.1	88.1	87.0
High education	86.5	86.8	87.3	86.5	93.6	94.7	94.0	94.2
Other education	66.2	63.4	64.8	63.4	79.8	79.9	83.3	84.6
				Western Germany				
No/low education	48.9	52.9	48.6	52.9	71.6	73.7	66.8	70.1
Medium education	71.8	76.2	76.6	80.9	91.4	92.8	89.3	92.0
High education	79.1	81.2	81.6	85.5	93.9	95.2	94.3	95.2
				Eastern Germany				
No/low education	50.0	47.5	44.1	44.7	62.1	58.7	48.0	56.5
Medium education	74.5	75.9	74.2	79.3	86.3	82.9	76.6	83.7
High education	89.4	88.6	86.8	86.9	92.9	92.0	89.8	92.5
People with children under age 18				**Great Britain**				
No/low education	48.7	49.2	46.4	40.1	75.3	77.2	77.8	78.2
Medium education	65.8	70.1	69.8	70.6	91.3	92.6	91.9	92.2
High education	82.4	81.8	82.1	82.3	96.7	97.1	96.6	96.5
Other education	58.2	57.2	55.7	53.1	83.0	85.1	87.7	87.1
				Western Germany				
No/low education	40.6	44.5	40.8	44.5	79.6	81.8	75.6	78.1
Medium education	60.7	67.6	68.8	74.2	94.0	95.3	92.5	95.0
High education	70.3	72.7	74.4	79.1	96.0	96.6	96.0	97.1
				Eastern Germany				
No/low education	45.1	37.7	34.9	31.6	70.3	62.9	55.9	60.0
Medium education	73.5	72.9	71.4	75.5	90.2	87.1	81.2	88.3
High education	88.6	87.9	86.5	84.4	94.3	94.3	93.4	95.2
People without children under age 18				**Great Britain**				
No/low education	69.6	65.4	63.5	57.4	66.6	70.4	68.0	64.4
Medium education	81.6	83.4	83.3	83.3	82.9	85.5	84.2	82.3
High education	90.6	91.7	92.5	90.8	90.9	92.7	91.9	92.2
Other education	75.1	70.6	74.2	75.3	76.2	74.7	79.1	82.4
				Western Germany				
No/low education	59.0	62.8	57.9	61.3	65.3	67.7	60.7	65.8
Medium education	84.6	86.8	85.9	88.3	88.7	90.3	86.2	89.6
High education	87.6	88.9	88.2	90.7	91.7	93.8	92.6	93.7
				Eastern Germany				
No/low education	54.9	53.9	49.7	53.6	57.1	57.1	46.0	55.7
Medium education	76.5	80.2	77.3	82.4	80.4	78.7	73.0	81.2
High education	91.0	89.5	87.2	88.7	90.7	89.6	86.7	90.7

Notes: Great Britain: (I). Sample: The sample consists of men and women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence, and (2) are heads or partner of the heads of a of a family. (II.) Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034).
Germany: (I). Sample: The sample consists of men and women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence, and (2) are heads or partner of the heads of a of a family. Sources: SUFs of teh German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008.

In Great Britain and in eastern Germany, there was a massive decline in the employment rate of less qualified women over the period studied. In Great Britain, the decline mainly occurred among less qualified women without children, but the employment rate of mothers with the lowest educational levels also decreased by 8.6 percentage points. In eastern Germany, the decline mainly occurred among the less educated women with children, while women without children under 18 were not as severely affected, and even increased their employment rate between 2004 and 2008. In contrast to the decline among less educated women in Britain and eastern Germany, there was an increase in the employment rate of less educated women in western Germany between 1996 and 2008.

Among the less educated men, the pattern was mixed. While there was a slight increase overall among British less qualified men with children between 1997 and 2008, less educated men without children experienced an increase in their employment rate until 2000, which was followed by a decrease until 2008. In western Germany, less qualified men with children experienced a slight increase in employment participation between 1996 and 2000, which was followed by a more severe decrease until 2004 and a slight recovery in 2008. Their childless counterparts experienced a similar pattern, albeit at a lower level. In eastern Germany, however, less qualified men, especially those with children, experienced a large decline in their employment rate. While in 1996 70.3% of these men were employed, the rate decreased to 55.9% in 2004 and slightly increased to 60.0% in 2008. Eastern German men without children experienced a similar pattern of decline and recovery of their employment rate, but at a lower level.

Among women with a medium education, there was an increase in the two parts of Germany and in Great Britain. Compared to medium educated women in Great Britain and eastern Germany, the increase was strongest among the western German women with a medium education, particularly those with children. While in 1996 60.7% of the me-

dium educated mothers were employed, the proportion had increased to 74.2% in 2008. In eastern Germany, this group experienced a slight decline in their employment rate between 1996 and 2004, followed by an increase in 2008. In 2008, the employment rates of western and eastern German mothers with a medium education were similar (74.2% and 75.5% respectively). Relative to Germany, British mothers with a medium education had a lower employment rate in 2008 (70.6%). Among the British and western German men with a medium education, a stagnation in the employment rate occurred between the mid-1990s and 2008, In eastern Germany, by contrast, medium educated men experienced a severe decline in their employment rates until 2004, and a large increase between 2004 and 2008.

Highly educated men and women had the highest employment rates in both parts of Germany and in Great Britain, and the gender difference in the employment rate was smaller in this group than in the less educated groups. In Britain, the employment rate stayed constant at about 82% among highly educated women with children, and at around 91% among highly educated British women without children under age 18. In contrast, there was a strong increase in the employment participation of this group in western Germany, in particular among highly educated mothers. In eastern Germany, however, there was a slight decline in the employment rate among highly educated women, mainly among those with children. The employment rate of highly educated eastern German men with children stayed quite constant at 93-95% between 1996 and 2008. Meanwhile, their childless counterparts experienced a decline between 1996 and 2004, which was, however, followed by a recovery of the employment rate until 2008. In western Germany and Britain, employment participation among highly educated men stayed rather constant between 1996/1997 and 2008.

Working time

In line with the differences found in the employment rates between people with and without children, the analysis showed that mothers worked fewer hours than childless women on average over the period studied, while fathers had more working hours than men without children under age 18. This was shown to apply equally to the two parts of Germany and to Great Britain (Table 3).

Since the employment rate of western German women increased so strongly between 1996 and 2008, we might expect to find an increase in their average working hours. However, only a very slight increase of about one working hour was found among western German women over this period (0.7 hours among women with children and 0.6 hours among women without children). On average, western German women worked 20.2 hours in 1996 and 21.3 hours in 2008. In 2008, women with children worked 14.5 hours and women without children worked 27.8 hours. In eastern Germany, there was a general decline in women's working hours, and especially among women with children. While in 1996 eastern German mothers worked 26.7 hours per week on average, their working hours had declined to 21.4 hours by 2008. Thus, mothers in eastern Germany worked on average about seven hours more per week than mothers in western Germany in 2008. In addition, the difference between the working time of mothers and childless women was much smaller in eastern Germany (6.4 hours) than in western Germany (13.7 hours). In Britain, women's working hours were similar to those of their counterparts in western Germany, but mothers' working hours were slightly higher.

Table 3: Women's and men's usual working time (arithmetic mean), Great Britain, eastern and western Germany, 1996 (1997), 2000, 2004, 2008

	Women				Men			
	1996/7	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1996/7**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
				Great Britain				
All people	20.3	21.2	21.4	21.8	35.5	36.0	35.4	34.9
With children under age 18	15.4	16.5	16.5	16.9	37.6	37.9	37.4	37.1
Without children under age 18	27.4	28.0	28.4	28.6	33.4	34.1	33.4	33.0
				Western Germany				
All people	20.2	20.7	20.0	21.3	36.2	37.1	34.8	36.0
With children under age 18	13.8	14.1	13.6	14.5	38.4	39.2	37.3	38.7
Without children under age 18	27.6	28.4	27.3	28.2	34.2	35.2	32.6	34.0
				Eastern Germany				
All people	27.4	26.5	24.8	25.0	35.6	34.1	30.7	32.6
With children under age 18	26.7	24.7	22.6	21.4	37.4	36.3	33.5	35.7
Without children under age 18	28.8	28.7	27.1	27.8	33.0	32.1	28.6	31.0

Notes: Great Britain: (I). Sample: The sample consists of men and women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence, and (2) are heads or partner of the heads of a of a family. (II.) Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Germany: (I). Sample: The sample consists of men and women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence, and (2) are heads or partner of the heads of a of a family. Sources: SUFs of teh German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008.

The working time of men in western Germany and Great Britain did not change much during the observation period. There was a small decline in British men's working hours between 1997 and 2008, and western German men's working hours underwent slight variations, but stayed at a level of between 35-37 hours per week.

Working time by education

In a pattern similar to that of the employment rates, working hours were shown to strongly increase with education (Table 4). However, the volume of working hours did not increase as sharply as the employment rate. This was especially true of medium and highly educated western German women with children, whose employment rates increased by 13.5 and 8.8 percentage points, respectively, between 1996 and 2008, but whose working hours only increased by 1.1 hours (medium educated mothers) and 0.7 hours (highly educated mothers) over this period. In contrast, eastern German mothers experienced a decline in their working hours between 1996 and 2008, which was most severe among the highly and the less educated. The working hours of less educated mothers in western Germany declined as well, but only slightly. As in western Germany, we can observe slight

changes in the working hours of British mothers. In Great Britain between 1997 and 2008, the average working hours of less and highly educated mothers declined slightly, while the average working hours of medium educated women with children increased slightly.

Table 4: Women's and men's usual working time (arithmetic mean) by education, Great Britain, eastern and western Germany, 1996 (1997), 2000, 2004, 2008

	Women				Men			
	1996/7	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1996/7**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
All people				**Great Britain**				
No/low education	14.6	14.3	14.0	12.5	29.7	30.4	29.7	28.6
Medium education	20.6	21.5	21.0	21.5	36.5	36.8	36.1	35.2
High education	27.1	27.7	27.5	27.0	37.9	38.1	37.3	37.3
Other education	19.6	18.7	19.7	19.8	34.2	33.9	34.1	34.7
				Western Germany				
No/low education	14.4	14.8	12.8	13.5	27.8	28.7	25.3	25.8
Medium education	21.8	22.0	21.5	22.7	37.6	38.4	36.4	37.7
High education	25.9	26.7	25.9	27.7	40.2	41.2	39.8	40.6
				Eastern Germany				
No/low education	17.6	15.9	14.0	13.0	24.2	22.7	17.2	19.7
Medium education	27.3	26.7	25.1	26.0	35.7	34.3	31.1	33.6
High education	34.3	33.1	31.4	30.1	39.4	39.2	37.4	38.5
People with children under age 18				**Great Britain**				
No/low education	11.0	11.3	10.7	9.4	31.6	31.8	31.8	31.1
Medium education	15.6	16.9	16.8	17.4	38.8	39.0	38.3	38.0
High education	21.8	22.0	21.6	21.4	40.2	40.0	39.2	39.0
Other education	15.4	15.2	14.6	14.2	36.1	36.9	36.6	36.0
				Western Germany				
No/low education	10.5	10.6	9.0	9.3	32.1	33.3	29.9	30.9
Medium education	14.4	14.9	14.5	15.5	39.1	39.8	38.1	39.6
High education	18.4	18.8	18.4	19.1	41.7	42.4	41.2	42.3
				Eastern Germany				
No/low education	15.5	12.0	10.8	9.4	28.2	25.3	21.8	22.3
Medium education	26.5	24.6	22.6	22.6	37.4	36.1	33.1	35.9
High education	33.5	31.8	29.6	25.4	40.0	40.3	39.4	40.5
People without children under age 18				**Great Britain**				
No/low education	21.4	20.3	20.4	18.9	27.5	29.0	27.5	26.0
Medium education	28.0	28.5	28.0	28.1	34.2	34.5	33.8	32.7
High education	32.5	33.2	33.4	32.8	35.9	36.6	35.8	35.9
Other education	24.3	22.7	24.9	26.2	32.0	30.8	31.7	33.4
				Western Germany				
No/low education	19.2	19.9	17.4	17.6	24.5	25.3	22.2	23.0
Medium education	30.2	30.8	30.0	30.6	36.2	37.0	34.7	36.3
High education	33.2	33.9	32.8	34.6	38.8	40.1	38.6	39.3
				Eastern Germany				
No/low education	19.6	18.4	16.0	15.5	21.7	21.7	15.9	19.1
Medium education	28.9	29.6	27.9	28.8	33.2	32.6	29.5	32.4
High education	35.9	34.9	33.1	33.7	38.7	38.0	35.8	37.2

Notes: Great Britain: (I). Sample: The sample consists of men and women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence, and (2) are heads or partner of the heads of a of a family. (II.) Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034).
Germany: (I). Sample: The sample consists of men and women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence, and (2) are heads or partner of the heads of a of a family. Sources: SUFs of teh German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008.

Among western German fathers, the changes in working hours were as small as they were among the mothers. There was a slight decline in the working hours of less educated fathers in western Germany, while there was a more pronounced decline among eastern German fathers, especially those with less education. In Britain, there was a slight decrease in the average working hours of fathers of all educational groups between 1997 and 2008.

Women's and men's employment status

When we examine the employment status of women and men with and without children (Table 5, Table 6), we can observe that in western Germany, there was a massive decline in the share of inactive women with children (-13.4 percentage points) between 1996 and 2008, while part-time employment considerably increased. Over the same period, full-time employment slightly decreased among mothers in western Germany. This may be the reason why no significant increase in working hours was found among western German mothers, despite a huge increase in their employment rate. Mothers in western Germany participated in the labour market mainly through part-time employment. In 2008, 42.6% worked less than 30 hours per week, and only one-fifth worked full-time. More than one-fourth of western German women with children did not participate in the labour market at all. By contrast, about half of eastern German mothers were full-time employed in 2008.

An increase was found in part-time employment among eastern German women with children, although the share of those who worked less than 30 hours per week was much lower (15.9%) than in the western part of the country. Among eastern German women with children, both part-time employment and inactivity increased. While in 1996 only 8.9% of eastern German mothers were inactive, the proportion had increased to 14.3% by 2008; which was, however, still con-

siderably lower than the share in western Germany. Moreover, unemployment was higher among eastern German women than among western German women, which likely reflected both the more difficult labour market situation in the eastern part and a greater desire to participate in employment.

Table 5: Women's and men's employment status, western and eastern Germany, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008

	Women				Men			
	1996	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1996**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
All people				**Western Germany**				
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	40.9	40.7	38.7	41.3	84.5	85.7	81.2	83.1
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	14.7	16.0	16.6	17.0	1.8	2.0	2.3	2.5
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	8.3	11.1	12.4	14.0	1.4	1.7	2.1	2.6
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	2.0	2.6	2.4	2.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
Unemployed	4.4	3.8	5.8	4.8	5.9	4.8	8.3	5.4
Inactive & in education	2.4	2.2	2.4	2.7	2.8	2.3	2.4	2.6
Inactive	27.3	23.6	21.7	17.4	3.5	3.5	3.7	3.6
Number of cases	13,160,571	13,205,199	13,053,371	13,285,869	12,323,103	12,386,793	12,288,918	12,460,460
People with children under age 18								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	21.8	20.9	19.0	20.1	89.5	90.6	86.8	89.3
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	18.7	20.2	21.5	22.8	1.4	1.5	1.9	1.7
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	11.3	15.5	17.3	19.8	0.8	1.0	1.3	1.4
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	3.8	4.9	4.4	5.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3
Unemployed	4.0	3.6	5.5	5.0	4.8	3.7	6.7	4.4
Inactive & in education	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.9	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4
Inactive	39.6	34.1	31.6	26.2	2.9	2.7	2.8	2.5
Number of cases	7,001,790	7,084,545	6,983,281	6,697,949	6,015,999	5,995,016	5,791,371	5,262,208
People without children under age 18								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	62.6	63.6	61.3	62.8	79.7	81.2	76.1	78.6
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	10.2	11.1	11.1	11.2	2.2	2.4	2.6	3.0
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	4.9	5.9	6.9	8.2	2.1	2.4	2.8	3.5
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unemployed	4.7	4.0	6.1	4.6	7.0	5.8	9.7	6.1
Inactive & in education	4.3	3.9	4.4	4.6	5.0	4.0	4.3	4.2
Inactive	13.3	11.5	10.2	8.5	4.0	4.2	4.5	4.5
Number of cases	6,158,781	6,120,653	6,070,090	6,587,921	6,307,104	6,391,777	6,497,549	7,198,254
All people				**Eastern Germany**				
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	65.0	62.5	58.1	57.8	84.2	80.3	72.1	75.9
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	6.7	7.1	7.9	9.9	0.8	0.8	1.3	2.5
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	1.7	3.3	4.9	6.0	0.6	1.0	2.2	2.9
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	1.0	1.7	1.8	2.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1
Unemployed	16.3	14.2	16.3	10.9	9.9	12.2	17.4	11.2
Inactive & in education	1.3	1.8	2.8	3.5	1.4	1.8	2.7	3.0
Inactive	8.0	9.3	8.2	9.5	3.0	3.8	4.2	4.4
Number of cases	2,928,331	2,926,998	2,817,036	2,731,062	2,781,459	2,853,119	2,728,154	2,679,532
People with children under age 18								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	63.3	57.8	52.2	49.0	88.9	85.6	79.1	83.3
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	7.1	8.1	9.3	11.4	0.6	0.6	0.9	1.8
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	1.6	3.4	5.2	6.1	0.4	0.7	1.6	2.0
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	1.5	3.1	3.4	5.2	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.3
Unemployed	16.9	15.5	17.8	12.5	7.7	9.8	15.0	8.5
Inactive & in education	0.6	0.6	1.1	1.5	0.4	0.5	0.6	1.0
Inactive	8.9	11.5	10.9	14.3	1.9	2.7	2.8	3.0
Number of cases	1,885,961	1,647,797	1,433,740	1,198,764	1,620,776	1,372,716	1,149,067	897,129
People without children under age 18								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	68.0	68.5	64.2	64.7	77.7	75.3	67.1	72.2
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	5.9	5.9	6.3	8.8	1.1	1.0	1.6	2.9
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	1.9	3.2	4.5	6.0	1.0	1.3	2.6	3.4
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unemployed	15.3	12.6	14.9	9.7	13.0	14.5	19.1	12.5
Inactive & in education	2.6	3.4	4.5	5.1	2.8	3.1	4.2	3.9
Inactive	6.3	6.4	5.5	5.7	4.4	4.8	5.3	5.0
Number of cases	1,042,370	1,279,200	1,383,297	1,532,296	1,160,684	1,480,403	1,579,084	1,782,402

Germany: (I). Sample: The sample consists of men and women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence, and (2) are heads or partner of the heads of a of a family. Sources: SUFs of teh German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008.

In contrast to the two parts of Germany, full-time employment increased between 1997 and 2008 among British women with and without children. Additionally, there was a rise in long-part time employment among mothers in Britain, while short part-time employment decreased considerably among women with children. In 2008, 28.8% of British mothers worked full-time, one-fourth worked between 16 and 29 hours and 9.1% worked short part-time. The proportion of inactive mothers in Britain was similar (26.1%) to that in western Germany in 2008, while full-time employment was higher than in western Germany, but considerably lower than in eastern Germany. Although the proportion of mothers who were inactive and in education was rather small in the two parts of Germany and in Great Britain, the proportion was higher in Britain (3%) than in Germany (0.9% in western Germany and 1.5% in eastern Germany).

As was already noted for the employment rate and the working hours, few changes in men's employment behaviour were found in western Germany and Great Britain. In eastern Germany, however, there was a considerable decrease in the proportion of full-time working men between 1996 and 2008. The great majority of men were full-time employed between 1996 and 2008 in the two parts of Germany and between 1997 and 2008 in Britain, with fathers having a higher full-time employment rate than men without children under age 18. In comparison, the full-time employment rate among fathers was highest in western Germany (89.3%), and was lower in Great Britain (86.7%) and in eastern Germany (83.3%). There was a slight decline in full-time employment among western German men and a much larger decrease among eastern German men, but a slight increase among British men, particularly fathers. In contrast to the patterns found among women in Britain and in the two parts of Germany, the share of men who were working part-time was very small. However, there was a slight rise in part-time employment among men, particularly in eastern Germany.

Table 6: Women's and men's employment status, Great Britain, 1997, 2000, 2004, 2008

	Women				Men			
	1997	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1997**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
All people								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	40.3	42.5	43.2	45.1	81.8	83.8	82.7	82.1
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	17.7	18.8	19.5	18.7	2.5	2.6	3.3	3.5
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	11.2	10.1	8.8	7.2	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.2
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	1.2	1.3	1.8	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
Unemployed	4.1	3.3	2.9	3.4	6.2	4.4	3.5	4.0
Inactive & in education	3.4	3.9	3.9	3.9	2.5	2.4	3.1	2.9
Inactive	22.0	20.1	19.9	19.2	5.8	5.7	6.1	6.2
Number of cases	11,284,202	11,166,589	11,135,811	11,205,617	10,004,111	9,799,840	9,730,276	9,990,916
People with children under age 18								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	24.6	26.4	26.8	28.8	85.6	87.4	86.8	86.7
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	21.8	24.3	25.5	25.1	2.4	2.5	3.0	3.4
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	15.2	13.6	11.7	9.2	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.7
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	1.8	2.0	2.8	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2
Unemployed	4.2	3.6	3.1	3.6	5.1	3.9	2.9	3.6
Inactive & in education	2.8	3.0	3.2	3.0	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.4
Inactive	29.7	27.0	26.8	26.0	5.3	5.0	5.7	5.0
Number of cases	6,617,725	6,546,573	6,556,340	6,545,339	5,031,871	4,851,848	4,729,371	4,705,965
People without children under age 18								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	62.6	65.2	66.7	67.9	77.9	80.3	78.8	78.0
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	12.0	11.0	10.8	9.7	2.6	2.7	3.6	3.6
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	5.6	5.1	4.7	4.3	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.6
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unemployed	3.9	2.8	2.7	3.1	7.3	4.8	4.2	4.4
Inactive & in education	4.3	5.2	4.8	5.1	4.4	4.3	5.2	5.1
Inactive	11.1	10.5	10.0	9.6	6.3	6.3	6.5	7.3
Number of cases	4,666,477	4,620,016	4,579,471	4,660,278	4,972,240	4,947,992	5,000,905	5,284,951

Notes: (I). Sample: The sample consists of men and women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence, and (2) are heads or partner of the heads of a of a family. (II.) Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034).

5.3 Mothers' and fathers' employment

Employment status by age of the youngest child

In Great Britain, as well as in western and eastern Germany, the age of the youngest child in the family was found to affect the mother's employment participation more severely than the father's (Table 7, Table 8, Table 9). The younger the child was, the greater the difference was between the mother's and the father's employment participation.

Mothers' employment participation was shown to increase with the age of the youngest child. Women with a child under age one had the lowest employment participation levels in both parts of Germany and in Great Britain. Their employment participation also decreased in the observation period, most strongly in Great Britain and in eastern Germany. Over the same period, the share of mothers who were inactive declined and the proportion of mothers on maternity or parental leave increased considerably in Great Britain, which may have been related to the steady extension of the length of leave within this period.

In Germany, the increase in the share of women with a child in the youngest age group who were on parental leave between 1996 and 2000 could not be related to the extension of leave, but rather to the more detailed measurement of parental leave in the microcensus since 1999. However, the increase in the proportion of women on parental leave in Germany between 2004 and 2008 appears to be associated with the introduction of the new parental leave benefit scheme in 2007 that made parental leave more attractive, particularly for highly educated mothers. At the same time, the share of inactive mothers declined considerably.

The proportion of full-time working women with a child under age one was equally low in Great Britain (8.4%), western (8.9%) and eastern Germany (8.2%) in 2008. By contrast, 82% of British fathers, 84.9% of western German fathers and 77.2% of eastern German fathers with a child under the age of one worked 30 hours or more per week.

While in Britain and eastern Germany the share of full-time employed women with a one-year-old child was considerably higher than among those with a child under age one, in western Germany the difference between the two groups of mothers was marginal. The results clearly indicated that western German mothers participated in the labour market via part-time employment, and in particular short-part-time employment, when their children get older, and that this type of employment increased considerably among western German mothers between 1996 and 2008.

In 2008, 15.5% of western German women with a one-year-old child, 18.8% with a two-year-old child, and 21.3% with a child between ages three and five worked between one and 15 hours per week, while among eastern German women, the proportions were 5.9%, 4% and 6.1%, respectively.

In Britain, long part-time employment (16-29 hours/week) played a

more important role among women with children under age three than in eastern or western Germany. This type of employment increased among all mothers, which might have been related to the incentives that established by the Working Families' Tax Credit, and later by the Working Tax Credit, to be employed for at least 16 hours a week. This assumption is supported by the decline in short part-time employment among British mothers.

As was already mentioned, fathers' employment was less dependent on the age of their youngest child than mothers' employment. However, an increase could be observed in the share of fathers on paternity or parental leave in Great Britain, and of those on parental leave in Germany, among men with a child under one year old. In Germany, this was likely due to the introduction of a new income-related parental leave benefit scheme, which made taking parental leave more attractive for men. In Britain, it was likely related to the introduction of paid paternity leave in 2003, which entitled fathers to use leave after childbirth.

Table 7: Employment status of mothers and fathers by the age of their youngest child, Great Britain, 1997, 2000, 2004, 2008

	Women				Men			
	1996	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1996**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
Youngest child 0 years								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	11.7	12.3	9.5	8.4	85.3	86.8	84.5	82.0
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	11.2	13.2	12.3	9.1	2.2	2.8	4.3	4.3
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	8.5	8.6	5.6	2.6	0.9	0.9	0.8	1.0
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	15.8	18.1	26.2	37.6	0.3	0.4	1.6	1.6
Unemployed	4.1	3.6	2.2	2.2	7.0	4.6	3.0	5.8
Inactive & in education	1.2	2.6	2.3	2.2	0.6	0.8	0.9	0.8
Inactive	47.4	41.6	42.0	37.9	3.6	3.7	4.8	4.4
Number of cases	641,854	649,773	616,930	697,811	541,051	533,378	500,268	585,250
Youngest child 1 year								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	17.1	17.0	16.3	19.3	85.6	86.8	84.7	87.4
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	17.0	21.8	21.7	25.0	2.4	3.1	4.2	3.9
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	15.9	13.7	11.2	9.7	0.8	0.8	0.5	0.5
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	0.4	0.4	1.1	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unemployed	4.2	3.0	4.3	3.9	6.2	4.5	3.8	4.2
Inactive & in education	2.0	3.1	3.6	2.8	0.5	0.8	1.4	0.1
Inactive	43.3	41.0	41.8	38.3	4.5	4.1	5.4	3.9
Number of cases	634,747	622,769	605,376	658,656	513,711	503,502	489,870	525,298
Youngest child 2 years								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	17.6	19.5	17.2	20.9	86.1	86.5	87.7	86.2
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	20.2	20.8	22.2	26.1	2.0	3.0	2.9	4.3
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	14.6	13.4	12.2	9.3	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.8
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unemployed	3.1	4.0	2.7	3.9	6.1	4.8	3.9	3.3
Inactive & in education	3.6	3.9	4.2	3.9	0.8	0.4	0.4	1.0
Inactive	40.1	37.7	40.6	35.5	4.1	5.0	4.7	4.3
Number of cases	586,383	522,691	503,501	550,471	463,656	403,253	379,012	424,467
Youngest child 3-5 years								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	19.2	21.0	20.5	22.2	85.2	87.5	86.1	86.5
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	20.9	23.8	25.7	25.2	3.1	2.8	3.1	3.2
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	17.3	16.2	14.6	12.2	1.0	0.4	0.7	0.6
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unemployed	4.7	4.0	3.7	4.9	5.1	4.2	3.5	3.7
Inactive & in education	4.0	4.3	4.7	4.5	0.7	0.5	1.0	0.4
Inactive	33.6	30.3	30.2	30.8	4.9	4.6	5.6	5.7
Number of cases	1,328,037	1,274,978	1,230,809	1,206,872	995,855	963,368	928,724	894,919
Youngest child 6-9 years								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	22.7	25.9	26.8	30.4	85.2	88.4	87.5	87.6
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	24.8	29.2	31.6	29.6	2.5	1.9	2.7	3.0
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	19.0	15.9	13.1	10.9	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.9
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unemployed	5.4	4.5	3.2	3.9	5.0	3.4	2.6	3.2
Inactive & in education	3.4	3.6	3.6	3.7	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.3
Inactive	24.4	20.7	21.4	21.4	6.1	5.2	6.0	5.0
Number of cases	1,316,706	1,399,047	1,364,133	1,267,342	959,198	1,016,052	950,266	887,768
Youngest child 10-17 years								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	37.3	39.1	40.1	43.1	86.2	87.2	88.1	88.0
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	25.5	26.4	27.2	27.4	2.2	2.4	2.2	2.8
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	13.5	12.1	10.9	8.6	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.6
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unemployed	3.6	2.9	2.8	3.0	4.0	3.4	2.0	2.7
Inactive & in education	2.1	1.8	2.2	1.7	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.3
Inactive	18.0	17.6	16.8	16.1	6.3	5.8	6.3	5.6
Number of cases	2,109,998	2,077,315	2,235,591	2,164,187	1,558,400	1,432,295	1,481,231	1,388,263

Notes: (I.) Sample: women and men between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in Great Britain, (2) are heads or partner of a head of a family, (3) live with at least 1 child under age 18 in the family. (II.) Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Data are weighted.

Table 8: Employment status of mothers and fathers by the age of their youngest child, western Germany, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008

	Women				Men			
	1996	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1996**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
Youngest child 0 years								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	13.5	11.6	10.7	8.9	85.2	88.4	82.5	84.9
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	4.4	4.4	4.8	3.6	2.1	1.3	2.2	2.1
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	4.4	6.6	6.4	6.8	1.1	1.0	1.7	2.0
Parental leave	20.3	22.9	23.6	33.0	0.6	0.3	0.4	1.6
Unemployed	1.6	1.0	2.0	1.2	5.8	4.9	9.6	5.7
Inactive & in education	0.9	1.2	0.8	1.9	1.4	0.9	1.0	1.1
Inactive	55.0	52.3	51.7	44.6	3.8	3.1	2.6	2.7
Number of cases	628,050	648,871	540,862	552,828	599,458	610,938	512,101	504,555
Youngest child 1 year								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	12.6	10.2	10.2	10.1	87.6	88.8	85.3	85.8
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	7.5	7.5	7.6	10.3	1.6	1.8	1.9	2.5
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	7.5	12.3	11.9	15.5	0.9	1.2	1.6	2.1
Parental leave	15.1	17.8	18.0	18.3	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.7
Unemployed	1.2	1.9	2.0	2.6	6.2	4.3	7.7	5.5
Inactive & in education	1.0	0.9	1.3	1.5	0.8	0.7	0.6	1.0
Inactive	55.1	49.3	49.1	41.8	2.5	2.8	2.8	2.4
Number of cases	608,728	614,870	558,032	528,110	577,229	577,043	520,146	474,867
Youngest child 2 years								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	13.0	11.8	10.3	11.8	87.5	88.8	84.0	86.8
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	10.3	10.6	10.6	14.4	1.3	1.4	2.4	1.4
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	10.3	14.4	15.9	18.8	1.2	1.2	1.8	1.9
Parental leave	8.5	13.4	12.8	11.7	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.5
Unemployed	4.3	3.1	4.0	4.6	5.6	4.2	7.7	6.0
Inactive & in education	1.1	0.8	1.0	1.5	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.7
Inactive	52.4	45.9	45.4	37.2	3.1	3.4	3.0	2.8
Number of cases	540,834	552,091	503,555	468,160	509,771	511,795	461,038	412,586
Youngest child 3-5 years								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	16.0	16.2	13.7	16.8	89.8	91.0	86.8	88.2
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	18.2	20.0	20.9	24.6	1.4	1.3	2.1	1.9
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	13.9	18.7	19.4	21.3	0.9	0.9	1.3	1.6
Parental leave		0.7	0.9	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2
Unemployed	5.4	5.2	7.3	7.4	4.7	3.8	7.0	5.0
Inactive & in education	1.3	1.0	0.9	1.1	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.4
Inactive	45.3	38.3	36.8	27.9	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.6
Number of cases	1,401,975	1,271,057	1,334,334	1,155,031	1,252,403	1,124,077	1,162,037	966,889
Youngest child 6-9 years								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	21.0	19.2	17.6	18.8	90.6	91.2	88.5	90.2
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	23.3	25.2	25.7	26.9	1.3	1.6	1.7	1.9
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	14.5	19.3	22.0	23.8	0.8	0.9	1.2	1.2
Parental leave		0.2	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unemployed	4.6	4.5	6.4	5.8	4.7	3.5	5.7	4.3
Inactive & in education	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3
Inactive	35.8	30.7	27.5	23.8	2.3	2.4	2.6	2.2
Number of cases	1,490,884	1,546,732	1,494,020	1,423,781	1,276,190	1,303,829	1,234,511	1,125,126
Youngest child 10-17 years								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	32.4	31.7	28.0	28.4	91.0	91.5	88.1	92.0
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	24.8	26.7	28.0	27.9	1.1	1.5	1.6	1.2
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	10.8	14.9	17.2	20.7	0.5	0.9	1.1	1.1
Parental leave		0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Unemployed	4.2	3.5	5.9	5.0	3.8	3.1	5.8	3.1
Inactive & in education	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1
Inactive	27.4	22.7	20.4	17.6	3.2	2.7	3.2	2.5
Number of cases	2,331,315	2,450,924	2,552,480	2,570,037	1,800,946	1,867,335	1,901,537	1,778,184

Notes: (I.) Sample: women and men between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in western Germany at the family's place of residence, (2) are heads or partner of a head of a family, (3) live with at least 1 child under age 18 in the family. (II.) Sources: SUF of the German microcensuses 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Data are weighted.

Table 9: Employment status of mothers and fathers by the age of their youngest child, eastern Germany, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008

	Women				Men			
	1996	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1996**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
Youngest child 0 years								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	21.0	14.5	16.2	8.2	82.7	77.9	73.3	77.2
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	3.2	2.2	3.5	1.9	1.5	1.3	1.0	3.0
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	1.6	2.4	2.5	4.2	0.9	1.4	1.7	1.2
Parental leave	22.7	27.3	27.9	43.7	0.5	1.5	1.2	1.8
Unemployed	4.9	2.4	2.9	3.4	11.5	11.6	17.3	11.1
Inactive & in education	1.6	1.9	3.0	3.3	0.7	1.8	1.6	2.8
Inactive	45.1	49.4	44.1	35.3	2.2	4.5	3.9	2.9
Number of cases	78,401	103,825	99,623	103,116	68,171	86,436	85,820	83,626
Youngest child 1 year								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	24.4	27.3	32.4	29.8	82.4	80.7	78.6	75.8
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	7.1	6.4	5.3	7.6	1.6	0.8	0.9	1.8
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	2.6	4.3	4.1	5.9	0.5	0.2	1.8	3.1
Parental leave	12.1	17.8	16.8	12.3	0.0	0.8	0.4	1.2
Unemployed	9.8	7.6	8.3	9.2	11.7	11.4	12.9	11.8
Inactive & in education	0.9	2.3	1.7	2.9	1.0	2.2	1.7	2.9
Inactive	43.2	34.3	31.5	32.3	2.8	3.8	3.7	3.5
Number of cases	71,509	99,106	95,413	102,903	66,072	82,610	80,106	82,072
Youngest child 2 years								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	42.0	40.3	39.2	42.1	82.8	83.1	77.4	79.2
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	5.7	6.4	10.4	9.7	0.3	1.4	0.5	2.7
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	2.6	4.9	5.0	4.0	0.5	0.7	2.6	3.9
Parental leave	3.8	5.2	5.1	3.8	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
Unemployed	24.6	16.8	21.4	14.9	12.6	10.8	13.8	10.6
Inactive & in education	2.1	1.6	1.9	2.5	3.0	1.2	1.7	0.7
Inactive	19.2	24.9	17.1	23.0	0.9	2.5	4.0	2.9
Number of cases	66,500	81,109	86,776	92,333	57,157	68,634	69,901	73,050
Youngest child 3-5 years								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	56.4	49.2	49.3	52.4	88.1	85.9	77.3	86.4
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	7.7	10.5	11.6	11.2	1.3	0.2	0.7	1.8
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	2.1	4.0	4.8	6.1	0.4	0.6	2.2	1.7
Parental leave	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
Unemployed	23.8	24.3	24.4	16.3	8.1	10.9	16.7	7.0
Inactive & in education	1.2	1.0	2.2	2.4	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.8
Inactive	8.8	11.0	7.4	11.1	1.7	1.8	2.3	2.0
Number of cases	261,265	183,872	230,693	231,545	228,086	156,717	184,932	172,257
Youngest child 6-9 years								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	67.3	58.1	52.0	55.3	89.4	86.0	80.9	86.6
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	8.1	9.0	10.9	14.6	0.5	0.7	1.4	1.8
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	1.6	4.2	7.8	7.8	0.4	0.6	1.3	2.0
Parental leave	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unemployed	17.6	21.3	21.7	13.5	7.3	10.5	13.6	6.8
Inactive & in education	0.3	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.5
Inactive	5.1	6.9	6.8	8.0	1.9	2.2	2.6	2.3
Number of cases	552,955	264,574	221,682	254,221	486,350	219,680	179,446	184,139
Youngest child 10-17 years								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	71.6	69.2	62.8	59.6	90.6	87.1	80.2	84.1
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	6.8	8.3	9.3	13.1	0.4	0.5	0.8	1.3
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	1.3	3.0	5.1	6.0	0.3	0.7	1.4	1.6
Parental leave	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unemployed	15.4	14.3	17.3	12.3	6.7	8.8	14.9	8.4
Inactive & in education	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.5
Inactive	4.4	5.0	5.1	8.4	2.0	2.7	2.5	4.0
Number of cases	855,332	915,310	699,552	414,643	714,939	758,643	548,864	301,985

Notes: (I.) Sample: women and men between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in western Germany at the family's place of residence, (2) are heads or partner of a head of a family, (3) live with at least 1 child under age 18 in the family. (II.) Sources: SUF of the German microcensuses 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Data are weighted.

Mothers' and fathers' employment status by their partnership status

Considerable differences in parents' labour market participation by partnership status can be found between Great Britain and eastern and

western Germany. In particular, there are substantial differences with regard to the employment of women with children (Table 10, Table 11, Table 12).

In general, there was an overall increase in the proportion of mothers in employment in western Germany between 1996 and 2008. However, married mothers in western Germany experienced the strongest increase within this time, while there was almost no increase in the overall employment participation of western German cohabiting mothers. Never-married and divorced lone mothers also experienced an increase in their employment participation in western Germany between 1996 and 2008, but the increase was not as strong as it was among western German married women with children. As in western Germany, there was an overall increase in mothers' employment in Great Britain. However, unlike in western Germany, the greatest increase in the overall employment participation was among never-married lone mothers, followed by divorced lone mothers. Meanwhile, the overall employment participation of married women with children remained stable in Great Britain between 1997 and 2008. Overall employment participation increased slightly among cohabiting British mothers during this time period. In eastern Germany, there was a decline in overall employment participation among all groups of mothers except for cohabiting mothers, among whom a slight increase in overall employment participation was observed.

With regard to the development of the extent of mothers' labour market participation by partnership status, large differences between countries were found over the time period studied. In Great Britain, there was an increase in the proportion of full-time working married mothers, never-married lone mothers and divorced lone mothers. The only group whose full-time employment decreased between 1997 and 2008 was cohabiting mothers. In contrast, there was a decline in full-time employment among all group of mothers in eastern and western Germany. The decline in eastern Germany was more severe than in

western Germany.

Table 10: Employment status of mothers and fathers by their partnership status, Great Britain, 1997, 2000, 2004, 2008

	Women				Men			
	1997	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1997**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
Married								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	25.9	27.7	28.1	30.2	87.9	89.3	89.1	89.4
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	24.1	26.3	27.2	26.2	2.3	2.4	2.8	3.3
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	17.6	15.9	14.3	11.6	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.7
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	1.9	2.2	2.8	4.5	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1
Unemployed	2.8	2.3	1.7	2.1	4.2	3.1	2.1	2.4
Inactive & in education	2.2	2.3	2.6	2.3	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.4
Inactive	25.4	23.3	23.3	23.1	4.3	4.1	4.5	3.6
Number of cases	4,692,490	4,421,326	4,195,707	4,036,724	4,358,344	4,068,139	3,797,247	3,678,022
Cohabiting								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	27.6	28.9	23.9	26.4	75.7	81.0	81.2	80.4
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	17.1	22.0	24.4	23.2	3.1	3.0	3.3	2.9
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	11.6	10.7	10.2	8.4	0.9	0.7	0.5	0.6
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	3.8	3.9	6.2	7.9		0.1	0.2	0.4
Unemployed	6.0	3.6	4.2	3.9	11.8	8.2	5.8	7.0
Inactive & in education	1.7	2.3	2.4	2.1	0.6	0.4	0.7	0.3
Inactive	32.2	28.7	28.7	28.0	7.9	6.5	8.3	8.4
Number of cases	575,666	712,040	835,584	958,146	544,966	664,287	780,332	897,570
Never married lone parent								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	11.9	14.0	17.6	18.4	27.3	30.9	40.1	38.5
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	11.5	16.6	18.1	20.8	2.3	3.8	8.7	10.7
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	6.8	6.3	5.8	3.7	4.5	2.4	1.1	1.4
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	0.4	0.9	1.4	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4
Unemployed	10.1	9.4	7.4	9.2	16.1	12.5	10.0	16.1
Inactive & in education	4.6	6.6	6.7	5.7		4.4	5.2	0.0
Inactive	54.7	46.1	43.0	39.9	49.7	46.1	34.8	31.9
Number of cases	553,773	615,367	741,244	789,712	17,897	21,316	40,117	39,884
Sep./div./wid. lone parent								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	23.4	27.0	31.9	35.1	54.1	59.9	64.6	58.7
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	18.6	21.5	24.9	26.0	5.1	6.1	6.2	6.1
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	9.6	9.1	5.1	3.4	3.3	0.8	1.4	1.8
Maternity/paternity/parental leave	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Unemployed	7.3	6.6	5.3	5.3	8.8	9.0	6.2	13.4
Inactive & in education	5.3	4.8	4.5	4.7	3.0	2.1	2.4	2.1
Inactive	35.6	30.7	27.9	25.0	25.7	22.1	19.3	17.9
Number of cases	795,112	796,685	776,989	754,367	110,664	98,106	106,970	90,489

Notes: (I.) Sample: women and men between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in Great Britain, (2) are heads or partner of a head of a family, (3) live with at least 1 child under age 18 in the family. (II.) Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Data are weighted.

While in western Germany the total proportions of mothers who were employed did not vary between married, cohabiting and never-married lone mothers in 2008 (about 62%), these groups strongly differed in terms of the extent of their employment participation. Among married mothers, the proportion of full-time employed mothers was much lower than among all other western German mothers. Only 16.5% of married mothers worked full-time in western Germany in 2008, compared to 30.1% of cohabiting mothers and about one-third of lone mothers. In contrast, married mothers in western Germany were of the

most likely to be in short part-time employment or inactive. About 10% of cohabiting and never-married lone mothers, 12.4% of divorced lone mothers and 22.3% of married women with children were in short part-time employment in 2008. In the same year, more than one-fourth of married women and one-fifth of cohabiting and never-married lone mothers in western Germany were not active in the labour market. Divorced, separated and widowed lone mothers had the lowest inactivity rates (15.8%), the highest overall employment rates, the highest full-time and the highest long part-time employment rates among all western German women with children.

Unlike in western Germany, married mothers had the highest overall employment rates in eastern Germany and in Great Britain. In eastern Germany in 2008, married women with children also had a higher full-time employment rate (51.1%) than cohabiting (49.9%), never-married (39.3%) and divorced lone mothers (48.1%). Although British married mothers had the highest overall employment rate, their full-time employment rate was lower (30.2%) than the full-time employment rate of divorced mothers (35.1%) in 2008. While never-married lone mothers had the lowest overall employment participation and also the lowest full-time employment rate in Britain and eastern Germany, the employment participation of divorced lone mothers was more similar to that of married women with children.

Table 11: Employment status of mothers and fathers by their partnership status, western Germany, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008

	Women				Men			
Employment status	**1996**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1996**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
Married								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	19.4	18.1	15.7	16.6	90.2	91.2	87.9	90.4
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	18.7	20.0	21.2	22.7	1.2	1.3	1.6	1.6
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	12.0	16.9	19.2	22.3	0.7	0.9	1.2	1.3
Parental leave	4.0	5.1	4.7	5.5	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3
Unemployed	3.4	2.9	4.3	3.7	4.5	3.5	6.2	3.8
Inactive & in education	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4
Inactive	41.9	36.3	34.4	28.6	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.2
Number of cases	5,981,533	5,884,990	5,560,894	5,175,745	5,668,164	5,565,351	5,254,618	4,731,407
Cohabiting								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	35.7	32.3	31.6	30.2	81.1	85.6	79.6	80.4
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	18.3	22.6	23.4	22.0	2.7	2.4	2.9	2.9
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	7.4	9.2	8.9	9.9	1.3	1.5	1.9	2.8
Parental leave	5.9	7.0	6.6	9.0	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.5
Unemployed	5.9	4.8	7.6	6.4	8.7	5.9	11.0	9.1
Inactive & in education	2.2	2.0	1.0	1.6	1.7	1.0	1.1	0.8
Inactive	24.6	22.1	21.0	20.9	4.4	3.3	3.4	3.4
Number of cases	238,395	317,230	416,177	452,453	236,460	315,555	407,861	422,780
Never married lone parent								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	35.5	33.9	30.9	32.4	53.6	63.8	54.2	61.3
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	13.6	17.1	20.0	19.5	3.9	7.5	12.7	6.1
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	3.7	6.3	7.0	9.8	2.2	3.2	4.0	2.9
Parental leave	4.0	5.0	4.4	3.8	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.7
Unemployed	8.0	8.9	11.0	11.5	13.2	6.5	10.6	11.5
Inactive & in education	4.3	1.8	2.8	3.2	8.2		1.7	2.1
Inactive	30.7	26.9	23.9	19.9	17.7	17.9	16.0	15.4
Number of cases	217,586	245,066	300,351	350,875	15,394	15,119	19,790	18,046
Sep./div./wid. lone parent								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	35.6	36.0	32.7	33.7	74.0	73.6	68.2	76.3
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	20.2	21.9	23.4	25.1	5.4	6.3	7.0	2.4
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	8.3	9.6	11.4	12.4	1.6	2.3	3.8	3.7
Parental leave	0.8	1.3	1.1	1.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.0
Unemployed	8.8	7.5	11.9	10.9	9.4	8.8	12.1	8.4
Inactive & in education	1.6	1.5	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.0
Inactive	24.6	22.1	18.7	15.8	8.9	8.2	8.5	9.2
Number of cases	564,277	637,261	705,860	717,519	95,980	98,991	109,100	87,645

Notes: (I.) Sample: women and men between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in western Germany at the family's place of residence, (2) are heads or partner of a head of a family, (3) live with at least 1 child under age 18 in the family. (II.) Sources: SUF of the German microcensuses 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Data are weighted.

Among men in 2008, married fathers had the highest overall and full-time employment participation rates in both parts of Germany and in Great Britain, followed by cohabiting fathers in Great Britain and in western Germany. In eastern Germany, divorced fathers had a slightly higher employment participation rate than cohabiting fathers in 2008, while in western Germany and in Great Britain, lone fathers had the lowest employment participation and the highest inactivity and unemployment rates.

Table 12: Employment status of mothers and fathers by their partnership status, eastern Germany, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008

	Women				Men			
Employment status	**1996**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1996**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
Married								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	65.4	60.3	55.3	51.1	90.1	87.6	81.4	85.3
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	8.0	9.4	10.8	13.4	0.6	0.6	0.9	1.7
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	1.6	3.6	5.1	6.6	0.4	0.6	1.5	2.1
Parental leave	1.3	2.5	3.1	4.6	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.3
Unemployed	15.2	13.9	15.0	10.1	6.8	8.4	13.2	7.2
Inactive & in education	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.9	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.7
Inactive	8.0	9.9	10.0	13.3	1.8	2.4	2.6	2.8
Number of cases	1,398,649	1,120,198	877,829	674,570	1,385,548	1,112,077	865,532	640,093
Cohabiting								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	56.7	52.6	48.9	49.9	84.1	78.6	72.8	78.8
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	3.8	5.7	7.9	8.8	0.7	0.7	0.9	2.2
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	1.3	2.8	5.4	4.2	0.5	1.0	2.0	1.7
Parental leave	3.8	6.3	6.2	10.0	0.0	0.4	0.2	0.4
Unemployed	19.6	15.6	16.1	11.7	11.7	14.6	19.6	12.0
Inactive & in education	0.8	0.9	1.7	2.0	0.9	1.2	1.4	1.7
Inactive	14.0	16.2	13.7	13.4	2.1	3.5	3.2	3.3
Number of cases	205,880	226,120	249,597	242,939	205,117	225,503	248,876	236,234
Never married lone parent								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	50.7	43.7	39.8	39.3	53.0	60.0	53.4	50.7
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	4.9	4.2	5.5	8.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.9
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	1.4	3.1	5.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0
Parental leave	2.3	5.9	3.9	3.3	0.0	0.0	3.8	0.0
Unemployed	25.2	21.4	28.5	19.2	25.7	25.7	29.3	22.0
Inactive & in education	2.7	1.8	2.6	3.5	7.0	5.8	2.0	4.5
Inactive	12.8	19.9	14.7	19.9	14.2	8.5	9.8	15.9
Number of cases	105,767	126,859	154,149	161,764	4,403	5,864	8,996	5,253
Sep./div./wid. lone parent								
Full-time employm. (>=30 h)	62.3	58.7	52.5	48.1	73.2	67.9	70.3	79.4
Long part-time employ. (16-29 h)	4.9	5.6	6.7	9.6	0.6	1.7	0.0	2.1
Short part-time employm. (1-15 h)	1.9	3.6	5.9	6.3	0.7	1.7	3.9	3.1
Parental leave	0.4	0.6	0.5	1.1	0.6	0.5	0.0	0.0
Unemployed	22.1	21.3	25.2	18.6	19.8	20.1	24.6	9.1
Inactive & in education	0.7	0.4	1.1	1.3	0.0	0.6	0.0	2.2
Inactive	7.8	9.9	8.1	14.9	5.1	7.5	1.3	4.1
Number of cases	175,665	174,620	152,164	119,330	25,707	29,274	25,664	15,211

Notes: (I.) Sample: women and men between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in western Germany at the family's place of residence, (2) are heads or partner of a head of a family, (3) live with at least 1 child under age 18 in the family. (II.) Sources: SUF of the German microcensuses 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Data are weighted.

5.4 Couples' employment patterns

It has so far been shown that there were major changes in maternal employment patterns in eastern and western Germany, while in Great Britain the changes among women with a partner were less pronounced.

This section describes the prevalence of different employment patterns among couples with children between 1996/1997 and 2008 in Great Britain and in eastern and western Germany. First, the employment patterns among all couples are shown (Table 13). I then distinguish between married couples and those in non-marital unions (Table 14).

I have identified nine employment patterns. As was found for the changes in employment patterns among mothers, major shifts in couples' employment patterns could be seen in the two parts of Germany. Like in Britain, there were three major employment patterns observed for the vast majority of couples. The first was the male breadwinner pattern with a full-time employed man and a non-working woman, the second was the modernised male breadwinner pattern with a full-time employed man and a part-time employed woman, and the third was the dual earner pattern with two full-time employed partners. However, the proportion of each employment pattern and its change over time varied considerably between the two parts of Germany and Great Britain.

The dual earner model (both full-time employed) was the biggest group found among eastern German couples. However, there was a strong decline in the size of this group between 1996 and 2008. While in 1996 59.1% of eastern German couples were dual earner couples, the share had decreased to 46.2% by 2008. However, despite this considerable decrease, the share of dual earner couples in eastern Germany in 2008 was more than three times as high as it was in western Germany, where only 15% of couples were dual earner. The share had also declined since 1996, when the share of this group was 17.6%. In Great Britain, the share of dual earner couples was higher than in western Germany, but lower than in eastern Germany. Unlike in the two parts of Germany, there was an increase in this employment constellation among British couples between 1997 (24.5%) and 2008 (27.1%).

The biggest group in western Germany and in Britain consisted of couples with a full-time working man and a part-time working woman. Unlike in Britain, where the share had slightly decreased between 1997 (38.2%) and 2008 (35.2%), in western Germany the modernised male breadwinner employment pattern had risen from 29% to 42.1%. In eastern Germany, this employment pattern also became more

prevalent among couples, as the share doubled between 1996 (8.3%) and 2008 (16.4%); however, the proportion was still much lower than in western Germany or in Britain.

The third major employment constellation was that of a full-time working man and a non-working woman. While this pattern was the most prevalent among western German couples in 1996 (43.2%), its share has fallen to about one-third (32.3%) in 2008. In eastern Germany the proportion stayed relatively stable at about one-fifth during the period 1996-2008. In Great Britain, the share was about 22-23%, but had slightly increased to 25.2% by 2008.

The other employment combinations were much less prevalent. However, there were also differences between the two parts of Germany and Britain. A relatively large group among the other six groups is the category consisted of two non-working partners This group decreased considerably in Britain between 1997 (7.4%) and 2008 (5.5%), and also in western Germany (1996: 5.1%, 2008: 4.4%), but it increased in eastern Germany (1996: 4.3%, 2008: 7.2%). In addition, the size of the group with a full-time employed woman and a non-employed man was also considerably bigger in eastern Germany than in Britain or western Germany, although it had decreased between 1996 (5%) and 2008 (3.8%).

Table 13: Employment combination among couples in eastern and western Germany, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, and Great 1997, 2000, 2004, 2008, column percentages

	Great Britain			
	1997	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
Both full-time employed	24.5	26.1	25.6	27.1
Woman full-time, man part-time	0.9	0.8	1.0	1.4
Woman full-time, man not employed/on parental leave	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.7
Woman part-time, man full-time	38.2	39.4	38.7	35.2
Both part-time employed	1.3	0.9	1.1	1.0
Woman part-time, partner not employed/on parental leave	1.8	1.5	1.6	1.3
Woman not employed/on parental leave, man full-time	23.4	22.2	23.3	25.2
Woman not employed/on parental leave, man part-time	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.7
Both not employed/on parental leave	7.4	6.0	5.5	5.5
Number of cases	4,986,091	4,807,976	4,675,957	4,626,598
	western Germany			
	1996	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
Both full-time employed	17.6	16.4	14.0	15.0
Woman full-time, man part-time	0.6	0.7	0.8	1.0
Woman full-time, man not employed/on parental leave	1.9	1.8	2.1	1.6
Woman part-time, man full-time	29.0	34.9	36.9	42.1
Both part-time employed	0.6	0.8	1.0	1.0
Woman part-time, partner not employed/on parental leave	1.2	1.2	2.2	1.4
Woman not employed/on parental leave, man full-time	43.2	39.2	36.3	32.3
Woman not employed/on parental leave, man part-time	0.8	0.8	1.2	1.2
Both not employed/on parental leave	5.1	4.2	5.5	4.4
Number of cases	6,145,658	6,129,009	5,913,332	5,546,697
	eastern Germany			
	1996	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
Both full-time employed	59.1	53.5	46.7	46.2
Woman full-time, man part-time	0.5	0.4	0.9	1.4
Woman full-time, man not employed/on parental leave	5.0	5.4	6.8	3.8
Woman part-time, man full-time	8.3	10.8	12.9	16.4
Both part-time employed	0.2	0.3	0.7	0.7
Woman part-time, partner not employed/on parental leave	0.6	1.2	1.9	1.4
Woman not employed/on parental leave, man full-time	21.7	21.7	20.2	21.3
Woman not employed/on parental leave, man part-time	0.3	0.5	0.8	1.7
Both not employed/on parental leave	4.3	6.2	9.1	7.2
Number of cases	1,589,942	1,330,922	1,108,772	897,073

Notes GB: (I.) Sample: married and non-married couples, in which the woman is between the ages 18 and 50 who (1) live in private households in Great Britain, (2) are heads or partner of a head of a family, (3) live with at least 1 child under age 18 in the family. (II.) Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Data are weighted.

Notes: eastern and western Germany: (I.) Sample: married and non-married coupls in which the woman is between the ages 18 and 50 who (1) live in private households in western Germany at the family's place of residence, (2) are heads or partner of a head of a family, (3) live with at least 1 child under age 18 in the family. (II.) Sources: SUF of the German microcensuses 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Data are weighted.

Employment combinations among couples by their partnership status

If we look at the employment patterns based on whether a couple was married or in a non-marital union, we can see strong differences (Table 14). In western Germany, the dual earner model was much more prevalent among non-married than among married couples, but among both groups this pattern declined. The modernised breadwinner model became the biggest group among the married couples (43.2% in 2008), and replaced the traditional male breadwinner group. Among

the non-married western German couples, this group increased as well, but was still smaller (2008: 28.8%) than among married couples. Like among married couples, the male breadwinner/female carer model declined and represented a smaller share (2008: 26%) of married couples in western Germany.

In eastern Germany, we could observe a strong decline in the proportion of full-time working couples among married and non-married couples. However, the decrease was much stronger among the eastern German married couples (1996: 60.4%, 2008: 46.3%) than among couples in non-marital unions, in part because among the latter group the full-time/full-time constellation was much smaller than it was in 1996 (50.4%). The share declined until 2004 and then increased again, reaching the same level (46%) as the one found among married couples.

The share of couples with a full-time working man and a part-time working woman was smaller among the eastern German cohabiting couples, and the traditional breadwinner pattern reached a similar level in 2008 among both types of couples.

In contrast to western Germany, the full-time/full-time pattern was less prevalent among British cohabiting couples than among married couples. The share of those who followed the modernised male breadwinner model and also the traditional male breadwinner pattern was slightly higher among couples in non-marital unions than among married couples.

In both parts of Germany and in Great Britain, the proportion of couples in which both partners were not working was higher among cohabiting couples than among married couples. In eastern Germany, their share increased over time to 10.6% in 2008, while a rise could also be seen in western Germany, albeit at a lower level (2008: 8.6%). In Great Britain the share of workless cohabiting couples was quite

high in 1997 (15.1%); it had decreased considerably by 2004 (10%), but it had increased again by 2008 (12.1%).

Table 14: Employment combination among married and non-married couples in eastern and western Germany, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, and Great Britain, 1997, 2000, 2004, 2008, column percentages

	western Germany							
	Married couples				Non-marital unions			
	1996	2000	2004	2008	1996	2000	2004	2008
Both full-time employed	17.1	15.7	13.1	14.0	31.1	29.4	26.2	26.8
Woman full-time, man part-time	0.5	0.7	0.8	1.0	1.4	1.1	1.0	1.2
Woman full-time, man not employed/on parental leave	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.6	3.8	2.2	4.4	2.3
Woman part-time, man full-time	29.2	35.2	37.6	43.2	22.8	29.0	28.2	28.8
Both part-time employed	0.6	0.8	1.0	0.9	1.4	1.6	1.7	2.1
Woman part-time, partner not employed/on parental leave	1.2	1.2	2.1	1.4	2.2	2.0	3.2	1.9
Woman not employed/on parental leave, man full-time	43.8	39.7	37.1	32.9	29.1	28.4	25.8	26.0
Woman not employed/on parental leave, man part-time	0.8	0.8	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.0	2.1	2.4
Both not employed/on parental leave	5.0	4.1	5.4	4.0	7.1	5.4	7.5	8.6
Number of cases	5,916,500	5,825,775	5,510,218	5,112,359	229,158	303,235	403,115	434,338
	eastern Germany							
	Married couples				Non-marital unions			
	1996	2000	2004	2008	1996	2000	2004	2008
Both full-time employed	60.4	55.1	48.2	46.3	50.4	45.8	41.3	46.0
Woman full-time, man part-time	0.5	0.4	1.0	1.6	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.9
Woman full-time, man not employed/on parental leave	4.8	5.1	6.5	3.7	6.0	7.0	7.6	4.2
Woman part-time, man full-time	8.9	11.7	13.6	18.3	4.0	6.7	10.3	10.8
Both part-time employed	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.2	0.5	0.7	0.9
Woman part-time, partner not employed/on parental leave	0.6	1.1	1.8	1.3	0.8	1.3	2.5	1.7
Woman not employed/on parental leave, man full-time	20.6	20.6	19.5	20.7	29.7	27.3	22.7	22.9
Woman not employed/on parental leave, man part-time	0.3	0.4	0.7	1.5	0.3	0.8	1.2	2.1
Both not employed/on parental leave	3.7	5.4	8.0	6.0	8.1	10.1	12.9	10.6
Number of cases	1,388,567	1,110,813	868,906	663,105	16,237	22,309	30,923	24,803
	Great Britain							
	Married couples				Non-marital unions			
	1997	2000	2004	2008	1997	2000	2004	2008
Both full-time employed	24.4	26.1	26.5	28.0	25.4	26.4	21.3	23.3
Woman full-time, man part-time	0.9	0.8	1.0	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.3
Woman full-time, man not employed/on parental leave	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.7	1.8	2.0	2.0	1.9
Woman part-time, man full-time	39.9	40.9	40.2	36.5	24.8	30.2	31.1	29.6
Both part-time employed	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.8	0.6	1.2	0.9
Woman part-time, partner not employed/on parental leave	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.2	2.6	2.5	2.9	1.6
Woman not employed/on parental leave, man full-time	23.1	21.8	22.2	24.5	26.4	24.8	28.7	28.0
Woman not employed/on parental leave, man part-time	1.1	1.3	1.5	1.8	1.0	2.1	1.7	1.4
Both not employed/on parental leave	6.4	5.3	4.6	3.9	15.1	10.4	10.0	12.1
Number of cases	4,450,111	4,149,820	3,904,984	3,744,144	535,980	658,156	770,973	882,454

Notes GB: (I.) Sample: married and non-married couples, in which the woman is between the ages 18 and 50 who (1) live in private households in Great Britain, (2) are heads or partner of a head of a family, (3) live with at least 1 child under age 18 in the family. (II.) Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Data are weighted.

Notes: eastern and western Germany: (I.) Sample: married and non-married coupls in which the woman is between the ages 18 and 50 who (1) live in private households in western Germany at the family's place of residence, (2) are heads or partner of a head of a family, (3) live with at least 1 child under age 18 in the family. (II.) Sources: SUF of the German microcensuses 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Data are weighted.

5.5 Socio-demographic characteristics of families in Great Britain and in eastern and western Germany

5.5.1 The distribution of family forms in Great Britain and in eastern and western Germany

The prevalence of the various family types differed in the two parts of Germany and in Great Britain (Table 15). The living arrangement of a married couple was most prevalent among people with children, although its proportion decreased in both countries over the period studied. While the most dramatic decline could be observed for eastern Germany, where the proportion of married couples with children decreased by 18 percentage points, reaching a level of 54.3% in 2008; the decline was rather moderate in western Germany, where around three-quarters of all families were married couples with children in 2008. Great Britain lies in between these trends: the proportion of married couples with children declined by about 10 percentage points between 1997 and 2008, reaching a level of 58.8%.

The trend towards a decline in marriage among families with children was accompanied by an increase in the proportion of cohabiting couples with children. The strongest increase in this family arrangement could be observed for eastern Germany, where in 2008 one-fifth of families were headed by a cohabiting couple. The increase in Great Britain was more moderate, reaching a level of 14.4% in 2008, while the proportion of western German cohabiting families was still very marginal (6.7% in 2008).

The group of lone parents increased in both eastern and western Germany as well as in Great Britain. However, the share of lone parents was still much lower in western Germany (18.5%) than in eastern Germany (25.6%) and in Great Britain (26.8%) in 2008. In eastern Germany, the increase in the share of lone parents among all families

was mainly due to the proportion of never-married lone parents, which more than doubled between 1996 and 2008; whereas the shares of divorced, widowed and separated lone parents were largely unchanged (at around 11-12%). Great Britain saw a more moderate increase in the shares of lone parents overall (1997: 23.2%, 2008: 26.8%). In eastern Germany, the proportion of never-married lone parents had become higher than the shares of divorced, widowed and separated mothers and fathers without partners. This pattern differed from that of western Germany, where the group of divorced, separated and widowed lone parents (9.8-12.7%) remained bigger than the group of never-married lone parents (3.5-5.8%) over the period studied. In Great Britain, the two groups were the same size in 2008.

Table 15: Distribution of family types by year in Great Britain, western and eastern Germany, 1996/1997, 2000, 2004, 2008

	Great Britain			
	1997	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
Married couple with child/ren	68.3	64.9	60.8	58.8
Cohabiting couple with child/ren	8.5	10.6	12.5	14.4
Never married lone parent	9.0	10.2	12.5	13.3
Divorced/widowed/ separated lone parent	14.2	14.3	14.2	13.5
Number of cases	6,380,756	6,263,900	6,242,899	6,250,044
	Western Germany			
	1996	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
Married couple with child/ren	83.2	80.8	77.0	74.8
Cohabiting couple with child/ren	3.5	4.5	6.0	6.7
Never married lone parent	3.5	3.8	4.8	5.8
Divorced/widowed/ separated lone parent	9.8	10.8	12.2	12.7
Number of cases	6,711,624	6,790,531	6,689,547	6,327,915
	Eastern Germany			
	1996	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
Married couple with child/ren	72.4	66.0	59.1	54.3
Cohabiting couple with child/ren	10.9	13.6	17.1	20.1
Never married lone parent	5.9	8.1	11.4	14.2
Divorced/widowed/ separated lone parent	10.8	12.4	12.4	11.4
Number of cases	1,882,428	1,656,263	1,441,767	1,177,885

Notes: Great Britain: (I). Sample: The sample consists of families with a head between 18 and 50 years (1) in private households in Great Britain, and (2) with at least 1 child under the age of 18. (3) People without information on their employment status are excluded. (4) Same-sex partnerships are excluded. (II). Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Estimates are weighted.
Germany: (I). Sample: The sample consists of families with a head between 18 and 50 years who (1) in private households at the family's place of residence, and (2) with at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. (3) Same-sex partnerships are excluded. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Estimates are weighted.

5.5.2 Socio-demographic characteristics of mothers according to their partnership status

Lone parents by gender

In Great Britain and in eastern and western Germany over the period studied, the vast majority (about 90 or more) of lone parents were women (Table 16). In comparison to eastern Germany and Great Britain, the proportion of lone fathers was slightly higher in western Germany. However, in the two parts of Germany and in Great Britain, the share of fathers decreased between the late 1990s and the late 2000s. The proportion of fathers among divorced, separated or widowed lone parents was considerably higher than among the never-married lone parents.

Table 16: Lone parents by gender in Great Britain, eastern and western Germany, row percentages

		Great Britain		Western Germany		Eastern Germany	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1996/1997	Never married lone parent	3.1	96.9	6.6	93.4	3.9	96.1
	Div./widow./ sep. lone parent	12.2	87.8	14.4	85.6	12.6	87.4
	All lone parents	8.7	91.3	12.4	87.6	9.5	90.5
2000	Never married lone parent	3.3	96.7	5.8	94.2	4.3	95.7
	Div./widow./ sep. lone parent	11.0	89.0	13.3	86.7	14.1	85.9
	All lone parents	7.8	92.2	11.4	88.6	10.2	89.8
2004	Never married lone parent	5.1	94.9	6.1	93.9	5.4	94.6
	Div./widow./ sep. lone parent	12.1	87.9	13.2	86.8	14.3	85.7
	All lone parents	8.8	91.2	11.2	88.8	10.0	90.0
2008	Never married lone parent	4.8	95.2	4.9	95.1	3.1	96.9
	Div./widow./ sep. lone parent	10.7	89.3	10.9	89.1	11.3	88.7
	All lone parents	7.8	92.2	9.0	91.0	6.8	93.2

Notes: Great Britain: (I). Sample: The sample consists of people between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in Great Britain, and (2) are heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. People without information on their employment status are excluded. (II). Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Estimates are weighted.
Germany: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence, and (2) are heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Estimates are weighted.

Since most lone parents were women, the following analyses will only focus on lone mothers.

Socio-demographic characteristics of lone mothers

The proportion of never-married lone mothers increased considerably in eastern Germany and Great Britain over the period studied: by

2008, the share of this group had increased by 10 percentage points to reach 51.1% in Great Britain, and the share had risen by 20 percentage points to reach 57.5% in eastern Germany. Meanwhile, the group of western German never-married mothers grew by only about five percentage points, reaching 32.8% in 2008 (Table 17). Unlike in Great Britain and in eastern Germany, the group of lone mothers in western Germany consisted mainly of divorced, separated and widowed mothers.

Table 17: Lone mothers by their marital status in Great Britain, eastern and western Germany, column percentages

	1996/7	2000	2004	2008
Great Britain				
Never married lone mother	41.1	43.6	48.8	51.1
Div./sep./widow. lone mother	58.9	56.4	51.2	48.9
Western Germany				
Never married lone mother	27.8	27.8	29.9	32.8
Div./sep./widow. lone mother	72.2	72.2	70.1	67.2
Eastern Germany				
Never married lone mother	37.5	42.1	50.3	57.5
Div./sep./widow. lone mother	62.5	57.9	49.7	42.5

Notes: Great Britain: (I). Sample: The sample consists of people between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in Great Britain, and (2) are heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. People without information on their employment status are excluded. (II). Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Estimates are weighted.
Germany: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence, and (2) are heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Estimates are weighted.

An analysis of the socio-demographic characteristics of the lone mothers showed that there were considerable differences between never-married lone mothers and those who were divorced, separated or widowed (Table 18, Table 19).

Lone mothers who had never been married were younger on average than the divorced mothers. In Britain the age difference remained constant at about eight years, while in eastern and western Germany the age difference between the two groups of lone mothers was smaller, at about 5-7 years in eastern Germany and 4-6 years in western Germany. However, there was an increase in the mean ages of both groups of

lone mothers over time. Between 1997 and 2008, the mean age of British never-married lone mothers increased from 28.9 to 31.5 years. Although the proportion of never-married British mothers under age 26 decreased from about one-third to 27.2% in 2008, this group was still larger than it was in both western and eastern Germany, where only about one-fifth of never-married lone mothers were under age 26 in 2008. This, of course, reflects the much higher teenage birth rates in Great Britain than in Germany. In eastern Germany, the mean age of never-married single mothers slightly increased from 30.9 in 1996 to 32 in 2008. In western Germany, the mean age increased from 31.7 to 33.9 between 1996 and 2008.

As the proportion of very young women among never-married British mothers decreased between the late 1990s and the late 2000s, the proportion of those with very young children under age three and with pre-school children also fell. At the same time, the share of those with children over age 10 rose. The mean age of the youngest child of never-married lone mothers increased from 4.7 to 5.9 between 1997 and 2008. In western Germany, a similar trend could be observed, as the proportion of never-married lone mothers with a child under age three was only 26.7% in 2008. In contrast, in eastern Germany there was a slight decline in the mean age of the youngest child among never-married lone mothers to six years in 2008.

In terms of the number of children, the vast majority of British, eastern and western German never-married lone mothers had one child. The proportion was higher in Germany (about 80%) than in Britain, where about 60% of never-married lone mothers had one-child mothers. Among British never-married mothers, the proportion of mothers with three or more children was much higher (about 12%) than in western (between 2.8 and 4.9%) and eastern Germany (between 2.9 and 5.1%).

Education plays an important role in labour market participation. In

addition to structural barriers, such as lack of childcare, having a low level of education is often mentioned in discussions about the labour market integration of lone mothers, particularly in Great Britain. In 1997, almost half (44.5%) of British never-married mothers had no or only a low level of education. This share steadily declined thereafter, reaching 29% in 2008, while the shares with medium and high levels of education increased. Among western German never-married mothers, the share with a low level of education decreased between 1996 and 2004 from 35.4% to 28.9%, but increased to 32.1% in 2008. Thus, in 2008 there was a slightly higher proportion of less educated women among lone mothers in western Germany than in Great Britain. Although there was a strong increase in the share of lone mothers with a low level of education in eastern Germany (1996: 12.5%, 2008: 22.5%), this share was still smaller than in western Germany or in Great Britain in 2008.

The ethnic composition of never-married mothers in Great Britain did not change substantially in the observed period. The majority were white. Around 10% of them were Black Caribbean, Black African or other Black. Among the group of divorced, separated or widowed mothers, less than 7% were Black Caribbean, Black African or other Black. While among the never-married mothers only a very small minority of about 1% or even less were Asian, the proportion was higher among the divorced mothers, and it increased between 1997 and 2008.

The picture in Germany was similar. The proportion of women who were of foreign nationality was higher among the divorced mothers in both eastern and western Germany, although there was an increase in the share of non-German never-married lone mothers between 1996 and 2008.

As was already mentioned, divorced mothers were older than never-married lone mothers. Their average age increased from 36.9 to 39.9 years in Great Britain, from 37 to 39.9 in western Germany and from

36.4 to 39.2 in eastern Germany. There was a decline in the proportions of the age groups under 36 in all three regions, and an increase in oldest age groups. Along with the rise in the ages of the women, an increase was found in the ages of their youngest children, except in eastern Germany, where, starting from a much lower level, the share of divorced mothers with very young children increased between 1996 and 2008. The average age of the youngest child was 9.6 years in Great Britain, 10.2 years in western Germany and 9.8 years in eastern Germany in 2008.

In comparison to never-married mothers, divorced mothers were older and less likely to have very young children. The shares of divorced women who had children under age six in 2008 were 19.2% in western Germany, 23.2% in eastern Germany and 25.3% in Great Britain. By contrast, the shares of never-married mothers were 50% or higher. Among the divorced, separated or widowed lone mothers, the majority of eastern and western German mothers had one child, while in Britain the majority of them had at least two children. The proportion of those with three children was higher among the divorced mothers in Britain than among their German counterparts.

Divorced mothers had higher levels of education on average than never-married lone mothers. The proportion of divorced mothers with no or low qualifications declined substantially in Great Britain between 1997 and 2008, while the decrease in western Germany was only moderate. In eastern Germany, by contrast, the proportion of less qualified divorced mothers almost doubled over the period, reaching 14.4% in 2008. However, compared to Great Britain and western Germany, eastern Germany had the lowest proportion of less qualified divorced and never-married lone mothers. In both eastern Germany and Great Britain, the proportion of highly qualified women was higher among the divorced mothers than among the never-married mothers. The opposite was the case in western Germany.

Socio-demographic characteristics of married and cohabiting mothers

On average, married mothers were older than cohabiting mothers, and, like for both groups of lone mothers, their average age increased in the observation period. While British and eastern German cohabiting mothers were between 31 and 33 years old, the mean age of western German cohabiting mothers increased from 33.4 in 1996 to 34.5 in 2008. The mean age of married mothers increased from 36.8 to 38.3 in Britain and from 36 to 38.3 in western Germany. In comparison, eastern German married mothers were slightly younger: their mean age has increased from 35.6 in 1996 to 37.4 in 2008.

Compared to all others groups of mothers, cohabiting mothers had the youngest children. The share of women with children under age six among mothers in cohabitation was 64.9% in Great Britain, 57.7% in western Germany and 64% in eastern Germany in 2008. While these levels were quite stable over time in Great Britain and western Germany, the proportion of cohabiting mothers with young children increased considerably in eastern Germany between 1996 and 2008.

Regarding the number of children, the majority of cohabiting mothers had only one child. Compared to western Germany and Great Britain in particular, the proportion of one-child mothers was highest among eastern German cohabiting mothers, and it increased from 63.7% in 1996 to 70.1% in 2008. About one-fourth of cohabiting mothers in western and eastern Germany had two children, while the proportion of cohabiting mothers who had three or more children was rather small (8.4% in western Germany and 4.4% in eastern German in 2008). In Britain, a higher share of two-child mothers and women with three or more children were found among the cohabiting mothers.

Among married mothers, the proportion with two or three children was higher than among cohabiting mothers. In eastern Germany, the

proportion of one-child mothers was higher than in western Germany and Great Britain.

Married mothers had a higher level of education on average than cohabiting mothers. However, while the difference was rather marginal in western Germany, the gap was quite pronounced in Great Britain. While in 2008 19.4% of cohabiting mothers were highly educated, the share was 34.4% among married mothers. In eastern Germany, the proportion of those with a medium education was almost the same among the cohabiting and the married mothers, while the share of less educated mothers was higher and the proportion of those with a university education was lower among the cohabiting mothers (11.3% in 2008) than among the married women with children (16.5% in 2008).

Cohabiting and married mothers also differed with respect to the relative education of their partner. In both parts of Germany and in Great Britain, a higher proportion of women who were more educated than their male partner were found among cohabiting than among married mothers. However, the share of women with a high level of education whose partner was similarly educated was higher among the married mothers.

Regarding the ethnic composition of cohabiting and married mothers in Great Britain, a higher share of white mothers was found among the cohabiting mothers. Between 1997 and 2008, about 96-98% of cohabiting mothers were white. The proportion of black women among the cohabiting mothers was about 1-2%, which was about the same proportion as among the married mothers. However, about 5-9% of married mothers were Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi or Chinese. The finding was similar for both parts of Germany where the proportion of non-German mothers was lower among mothers in non-marital unions.

To sum up, the socio-demographic characteristics of the four groups of mothers indicated that never-married lone mothers were the young-

est on average, followed by cohabiting and married mothers. Divorced, separated or widowed mothers were, on average, the oldest mothers. Never-married and cohabiting mothers had the youngest children, while married mothers and those who were separated, divorced or widowed had, on average, older children. Regarding education, the results showed that, in both parts of Germany and in Great Britain, the share of mothers with no or a low level of education was highest among never-married mothers, followed by divorced, separated and widowed mothers. Cohabiting mothers had a higher level of education on average than lone mothers, but a lower level of education than married mothers.

Table 18: Socio-demographic characteristics of never-married lone mothers in Great Britain, western and eastern Germany

	Great Britain				Western Germany				Eastern Germany			
	1997	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1996**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1996**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
Age												
18-25 years	33.8	30.9	28.8	27.2	20.4	16.8	17.8	18.6	22.9	20.6	21.4	20.3
26-30 years	28.7	26.5	19.6	20.6	24.6	19.4	17.2	17.5	27.1	27.6	21.2	24.1
31-35 years	22.2	21.7	21.4	19.1	25.7	28.3	22.3	17.9	26.1	25.5	24.0	21.0
36-40 years	9.4	13.4	19.1	18.3	17.3	21.3	23.1	21.3	16.6	17.4	21.8	21.8
41-50 years	5.9	7.5	11.2	14.7	11.9	14.1	19.7	24.6	7.2	8.8	11.6	12.8
Mean age	28.9	29.7	31.0	31.5	31.7	32.8	33.5	33.9	30.9	31.3	32.0	32.0
Age of youngest child												
Under 3 years	37.6	36.2	30.9	32.3	32.5	32.3	29.2	26.7	22.7	33.7	28.9	29.6
3-5 years	27.6	24.4	23.6	22.3	25.0	23.6	24.1	22.3	20.4	15.8	23.7	24.8
6-9 years	21.6	21.9	22.1	21.1	21.2	21.2	21.0	23.1	28.5	19.2	14.9	23.3
10 years or older	13.2	17.4	23.4	24.3	21.2	22.9	25.6	27.9	28.4	31.4	32.6	22.2
Mean age of youngest child	4.7	5.1	5.9	5.9	5.5	5.7	6.1	6.5	6.8	6.4	6.8	6.0
Number of children												
1 child	62.0	59.4	58.6	57.4	80.7	79.6	78.1	77.4	83.6	77.8	78.4	76.3
2 children	25.9	27.4	29.9	30.6	16.5	15.6	17.8	18.5	13.5	17.1	17.7	19.0
3 or more children	12.1	13.2	11.4	12.0	2.8	4.9	4.1	4.2	2.9	5.1	3.9	4.7
Education												
No/low education	44.5	39.7	36.3	29.0	35.4	30.4	28.9	32.1	12.5	16.1	17.8	22.5
Medium education	45.1	46.1	48.5	53.7	47.4	52.7	53.3	55.6	73.1	71.9	71.2	68.8
High education	5.9	8.8	10.6	12.5	10.6	10.0	11.3	11.6	9.3	8.4	6.0	8.1
Other education (only Great Britain)	4.1	4.9	4.3	4.4	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
n/a	0.4	0.7	0.2	0.5	6.6	6.9	6.6	0.7	5.1	3.6	5.0	0.7
Ethnicity (only Great Britain)												
White	87.9	87.4	87.4	87.6	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Black carribbean, black african or other black	8.5	10.2	10.0	9.3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese	1.0	0.7	0.4	0.8	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Other	2.4	1.6	2.3	2.2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
n/a	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1								
Nationality (only Germany)												
German	---	---	---	---	89.5	90.5	90.8	90.9	99.4	98.6	99.0	95.8
Non-German	---	---	---	---	10.5	9.5	9.2	9.1	0.6	1.4	1.0	4.2
Number of cases	553,773	615,367	741,244	789,712	217,586	245,066	300,351	350,875	105,768	126,859	154,151	161,764

Notes: Great Britain: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in Great Britain, and (2) are heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. People without information on their employment status are excluded. (II). Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Estimates are weighted.
Germany: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence, and (2) are heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Estimates are weighted.

Table 19: Socio-demographic characteristics of divorced, separated and widowed lone mothers in Great, Britain, western and eastern Germany

	Great Britain				Western Germany				Eastern Germany			
	1997	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1996**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1996**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
Age												
18-25 years	4.2	2.8	2.1	2.4	4.0	3.2	2.4	1.7	2.8	1.0	1.5	1.2
26-30 years	13.4	10.4	7.5	6.7	12.9	10.0	7.8	6.5	16.0	7.4	5.6	8.4
31-35 years	24.3	22.1	17.5	14.1	23.6	22.3	17.6	13.9	26.7	25.0	17.6	15.7
36-40 years	27.6	28.9	30.5	25.5	27.9	29.1	29.4	27.4	26.7	36.3	34.2	32.1
41-50 years	30.6	35.8	42.3	51.4	31.5	35.4	42.8	50.5	27.9	30.3	41.0	42.6
Mean age	36.9	37.8	39.0	39.9	37.0	37.8	38.8	39.9	36.4	37.8	39.0	39.2
Age of youngest child												
Under 3 years	14.3	11.7	10.3	10.5	10.1	10.0	7.6	6.9	5.9	7.4	6.7	9.7
3-5 years	20.1	16.7	13.5	14.8	17.9	14.9	15.3	12.3	10.6	7.9	11.8	13.5
6-9 years	24.0	25.5	25.1	20.5	25.2	26.9	24.7	23.5	28.5	15.8	15.9	22.7
10 years or older	41.6	46.1	51.1	54.3	46.8	48.2	52.4	57.3	55.0	68.9	65.6	54.0
Mean age of youngest child	8.3	8.9	9.4	9.6	9.0	9.2	9.6	10.2	10.0	10.8	11.1	9.8
Number of children												
1 child	39.5	42.2	44.9	46.6	57.5	57.0	57.3	56.6	56.8	61.4	67.5	65.5
2 children	39.6	38.1	37.7	36.7	32.5	32.4	32.5	34.6	34.6	29.9	26.9	25.6
3 or more children	20.9	19.7	17.4	16.6	9.9	10.6	10.2	8.8	8.6	8.6	5.5	8.9
Education												
No/low education	37.4	31.1	26.5	21.9	28.3	28.8	26.3	25.9	8.3	6.9	7.4	14.4
Medium education	42.3	45.4	45.9	48.4	54.9	55.7	58.2	63.6	77.7	79.5	76.6	71.6
High education	13.4	16.4	19.3	22.5	9.7	8.5	8.5	9.4	11.2	11.3	11.9	13.2
Other education (only Great Britain)	6.6	7.0	8.0	6.8	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
n/a	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.4	7.1	7.0	7.0	1.1	2.8	2.3	4.1	0.9
Ethnicity (only Great Britain)												
White	89.7	89.0	86.2	83.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Black carribbean, black african or other black	3.9	4.6	5.6	6.2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese	4.0	4.0	5.1	5.9	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
other	2.3	2.4	3.0	4.7	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
n/a	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1								
Nationality (only Germany)												
German	---	---	---	---	85.3	85.1	84.0	82.2	99.3	97.6	96.0	88.8
Non-German	---	---	---	---	14.7	14.9	16.0	17.8	0.7	2.4	4.0	11.2
Number of cases	795,112	796,685	776,989	754,367	564,277	556,000	705,859	717,062	175,665	144,721	152,165	119,176

Notes: Great Britain: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in Great Britain, and (2) are heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. People without information on their employment status are excluded. (II). Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Estimates are weighted.
Germany: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence, and (2) are heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Estimates are weighted.

Table 20: Socio-demographic characteristics of married mothers in Great, Britain, western and eastern Germany

	Great Britain				Western Germany				Eastern Germany			
	1997	2000	2004	2008	1996	2000	2004	2008	1996	2000	2004	2008
Age												
18-25 years	4.3	3.3	2.8	3.1	5.6	4.5	4.0	3.0	3.6	2.8	2.7	2.5
26-30 years	14.7	12.6	9.8	10.4	16.0	13.1	11.1	10.7	16.6	10.7	9.3	12.2
31-35 years	24.8	24.4	21.5	19.8	26.5	25.2	21.2	18.3	30.2	26.2	21.2	19.6
36-40 years	25.5	27.9	29.3	26.6	25.2	27.4	28.8	27.0	27.7	33.1	34.3	33.0
41-50 years	30.7	31.8	36.6	40.1	26.6	29.8	34.8	41.0	22.0	27.3	32.6	32.7
Mean age	36.8	37.2	38.0	38.3	36.0	36.7	37.6	38.3	35.6	37.0	37.7	37.4
Age of youngest child												
Under 3 years	27.0	26.4	25.1	28.0	26.2	26.5	23.8	23.7	9.2	13.7	15.6	20.2
3-5 years	19.2	18.8	18.8	18.3	20.0	18.2	19.4	17.6	12.8	10.6	14.2	18.2
6-9 years	19.4	21.4	20.5	19.8	21.1	21.4	21.1	21.3	29.9	15.4	15.8	22.4
10 years or older	34.3	33.5	35.5	34.0	32.6	33.9	35.7	37.4	48.1	60.2	54.4	39.2
Mean age of youngest child	7.1	7.0	7.2	7.0	7.0	7.1	7.3	7.5	9.3	9.8	9.7	8.0
Number of children												
1 child	36.7	34.9	35.6	38.6	44.0	43.4	42.3	43.0	50.6	56.6	60.2	55.8
2 children	44.4	46.0	47.1	44.2	41.4	42.0	42.9	42.7	41.5	36.4	32.5	35.0
3 or more children	19.0	19.2	17.3	17.1	14.6	14.6	14.7	14.3	8.0	7.0	7.3	9.2
Education												
No/low education	25.0	21.2	17.1	13.4	26.2	22.7	22.2	21.8	4.7	4.7	4.7	8.2
Medium education	46.3	47.1	47.6	44.0	58.2	60.6	60.5	64.0	78.9	78.0	76.3	74.7
High education	21.2	23.8	28.6	34.4	9.7	9.5	10.9	13.4	13.4	13.5	14.3	16.5
Other education	7.1	7.1	6.2	7.9	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
n/a	0.5	0.8	0.5	0.3	6.0	7.2	6.5	0.7	3.0	3.7	4.7	0.6
Relative education												
both no/low education	7.6	6.4	5.7	5.0	11.5	10.4	10.1	10.1	1.5	1.5	1.7	3.7
both medium education	26.2	26.8	27.0	24.0	45.8	48.5	47.9	49.8	69.1	68.3	66.7	64.0
both high education	12.4	14.0	16.6	20.2	7.0	6.8	7.8	9.3	8.5	8.2	8.5	10.4
woman < man	21.9	20.8	18.8	15.4	23.0	20.1	20.2	21.5	11.0	11.2	10.8	13.1
woman > man	13.9	14.5	16.0	17.0	6.0	5.9	6.6	8.4	6.6	6.6	7.0	8.2
one has other education	14.9	13.4	12.1	14.3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
n/a	3.1	4.1	3.8	4.2	6.7	8.3	7.4	0.9	3.3	4.1	5.3	0.6
Ethnicity (only Great Britain)												
White	92.0	90.9	88.9	84.6	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Black carribbean, black african or other black	1.3	1.3	1.8	2.4	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese	5.1	5.9	6.4	8.8	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
other	1.6	1.9	2.8	4.2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
n/a	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0								
Nationality (only Germany)												
German	---	---	---	---	83.1	82.8	81.7	80.9	98.8	97.8	96.8	90.6
Non-German	---	---	---	---	16.9	17.2	18.3	19.1	1.2	2.2	3.2	9.4
Number of cases	4,692,490	4,421,326	4,195,707	4,036,724	5,981,532	5,884,989	5,560,894	5,175,744	1,398,649	1,120,198	877,829	674,571

Notes: Great Britain: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in Great Britain, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. (3) People without information on their employment status are excluded. (4) Individuals in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (II).
Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Estimates are weighted.
Germany: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. (3) Individuals in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008.

Table 21: Socio-demographic characteristics of cohabiting mothers in Great, Britain, western and eastern Germany

	Great Britain				Western Germany				Eastern Germany			
	1997	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1996**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**	**1996**	**2000**	**2004**	**2008**
Age												
18-25 years	21.1	19.7	18.5	19.9	11.7	12.0	12.5	14.6	17.2	13.6	14.9	14.3
26-30 years	25.6	23.4	21.2	20.0	23.2	19.0	15.5	18.1	32.1	25.8	19.4	24.4
31-35 years	24.0	24.9	22.9	18.8	27.6	28.0	23.9	18.7	26.5	29.4	31.1	23.7
36-40 years	16.4	19.6	20.0	22.0	23.2	24.4	26.0	24.2	16.0	19.4	22.0	22.7
41-50 years	12.8	12.4	17.4	19.2	14.4	16.7	22.0	24.5	8.2	11.8	12.5	14.8
Mean age	31.6	32.1	32.9	33.1	33.4	33.9	34.7	34.5	31.3	32.5	33.0	33.0
Age of youngest child												
Under 3 years	47.5	44.0	43.4	46.1	33.6	36.4	33.6	40.1	25.9	33.0	36.3	42.3
3-5 years	19.5	22.4	18.9	18.8	20.1	15.1	17.7	17.6	20.3	13.8	20.7	21.7
6-9 years	16.2	16.4	17.3	15.3	17.2	19.7	19.4	15.4	26.7	17.6	14.3	15.7
10 years or older	16.7	17.1	20.4	19.7	29.1	28.8	29.3	26.9	27.1	35.6	28.7	20.4
Mean age of youngest child	4.6	4.7	5.0	4.9	6.2	6.1	6.3	5.7	6.5	6.7	6.1	5.1
Number of children												
1 child	51.0	52.0	49.1	52.5	67.8	69.1	65.2	65.5	63.7	69.3	68.3	70.1
2 children	34.4	33.2	36.4	34.9	24.9	23.3	27.2	26.1	28.2	24.6	26.4	25.5
3 or more children	14.7	14.7	14.5	12.6	7.3	7.6	7.6	8.4	8.1	6.1	5.4	4.4
Education												
No/low education	33.3	27.7	24.4	18.9	26.7	21.0	21.2	25.1	9.3	9.2	8.9	12.4
Medium education	48.9	49.3	55.2	55.8	54.3	61.1	60.3	61.5	79.8	79.0	76.2	75.9
High education	12.7	16.8	16.2	19.4	10.7	10.0	11.0	12.8	8.3	7.8	9.4	11.3
Other education (only Great Britain)	4.2	5.1	3.4	5.3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
n/a	0.9	1.1	0.7	0.6	8.3	7.9	7.5	0.6	2.6	4.0	5.5	0.4
Relative education												
both no/low education	12.3	10.4	8.8	7.5	10.0	8.2	9.4	10.9	3.4	3.5	3.4	5.0
both medium education	26.2	28.3	30.8	31.6	42.2	47.2	47.5	48.0	71.5	69.6	66.8	66.6
both high education	5.4	7.8	7.3	7.9	6.4	5.7	6.4	7.9	4.5	3.5	4.7	5.3
woman < man	20.1	17.3	17.4	14.6	22.1	19.7	17.3	19.9	11.5	11.2	11.1	12.6
woman > man	17.0	15.9	18.4	19.4	9.1	9.7	10.0	12.3	6.2	7.5	7.8	10.0
one has other education	11.8	12.5	10.6	12.5	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
n/a	7.2	7.8	6.7	6.6	10.1	9.6	9.5	1.0	2.9	4.7	6.3	0.5
Ethnicity (only Great Britain)												
White	96.4	98.1	96.8	96.1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Black carribbean, black african or other black	2.0	1.0	1.8	2.1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
other	1.3	0.7	0.9	1.6	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
n/a	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0								
Nationality (only Germany)												
German	---	---	---	---	91.6	92.6	91.9	89.5	99.4	99.3	98.7	97.5
Non-German	---	---	---	---	8.4	7.4	8.1	10.5	0.6	0.7	1.3	2.5
Number of cases	575,666	712,040	835,584	958,146	237,473	313,025	411,572	445,956	204,930	225,098	247,302	242,713

Notes: Great Britain: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in Great Britain, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. (3) People without information on their employment status are excluded. (4) Individuals in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (II).
Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Estimates are weighted.
Germany: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. (3) Individuals in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Estimates are weighted.

5.6 Summary of descriptive findings

The descriptive analyses on the employment patterns of men and women in Great Britain and in eastern and western Germany between the late 1990s and late 2000s revealed many similarities, but also strong differences between the two parts of Germany and Great Britain.

Regarding the influence of children on men's and women's employment behaviour, the findings indicated that women with children had lower employment rates than childless women, while among men, the opposite was the case. In terms of the development over time, a strong increase in women's employment rate was found in western Germany, particularly among women with children, while in Great Britain the increase after 1997 was more moderate. In eastern Germany, there were declines in the employment rates of men and women with children. However, in 2008 eastern Germany had higher female and maternal employment rates than western Germany and Great Britain.

Investigating the employment rate by education showed that the higher the education, the higher the employment rate. However, the results also showed that there was an increase in employment participation among less educated western German mothers, while there was a decrease in the employment rates of eastern German and British mothers between 1996/1997 and 2008. In addition, less educated eastern German fathers also experienced a strong decline in their employment rate.

Regarding working hours, the analysis showed that mothers worked fewer hours on average than childless women, but fathers worked more hours than men without children. Interestingly, western German mothers' average working hours increased by less than one hour between 1996 and 2008, despite the strong increase in their employment rate. Eastern Germans experienced a decline in working hours in general, but among mothers in particular. However, in line with the ma-

ternal employment rate, eastern German mothers still worked more hours (25 hours) on average than western German (14.5 hours) or British women with children (16.9 hours) in 2008. However, among the men, eastern German fathers worked a lower number of hours than western German fathers (highest) and British fathers. Like the employment rate, the number of working hours varied according to educational level, with less qualified men and women working less than highly educated people. Although there was a decline in working hours among all groups of eastern German mothers and also among the less and medium educated fathers, the decline among the less educated mothers and fathers was most severe between 1996 and 2008.

There have been large changes in women' employment status between the late 1990s and the late 2000s. However, in the two parts of Germany, the developments were quite different. Women's employment, and mothers' employment in western Germany in particular, was characterised by a decrease in inactive women, a huge increase in part-time employment (especially short part-time employment) but a slight decrease in full-time employment. In eastern Germany, the share of mothers who were inactive or in part-time employment increased, but the share of mothers who were in full-time employment declined sharply. In contrast to Germany, there was an increase in full-time employment in Britain among all working-age adults, including those with children, and a slight increase in long part-time employment, but a decrease in short part-time employment. Like in western Germany, the proportion of inactive mothers decreased over time. However, the highest full-time employment rate was still found among eastern German mothers (49%), relative to British mothers (28.8%) and western German mothers (20.1%) in 2008.

The descriptive analyses further showed that the age of the youngest child had an important impact on women's participation in the labour market. The younger the child was, the lower the employment participation. Fathers were less affected. Women with a child under age one

had the lowest employment participation. During the observation period, their employment participation, along with the proportion of inactive mothers, decreased strongly, but the share of those who were on parental leave increased considerably. Although fathers' employment was not as strongly affected as mothers' employment, an increase in the share of fathers on parental leave was observed, which might have been related to the introduction of paternity leave in Britain in 2003 and the reform of the parental leave benefit in German in 2007.

Parents'—and, in particular, mothers'—employment participation also varied by partnership status. While among the fathers the pattern was quite clear, with married men with children being the group with the highest employment participation in both parts of Germany and in Britain, the pattern differed among the mothers. While in western Germany the overall employment rate did not differ between married, cohabiting and never-married lone mothers, the extent to which they participated in employment varied. Western German married mothers had the lowest full-time employment rate, but the highest rate of short part-time employment; while the full-time employment rate of cohabiting and both groups of lone mothers was almost twice as high as it was among the married mothers in western Germany. In Britain and eastern Germany, the picture looks different, with married mothers being those with the highest overall employment rate. In eastern Germany, they also had the highest full-time employment rate, while in Britain the employment rate was higher among divorced mothers than among married women. In general, the employment participation of divorced lone mothers was similar to that of married women in eastern Germany and Britain, while never-married lone mothers had the lowest employment participation. However, among the British mothers, this group experienced a huge increase in employment between 1997 and 2008, particularly in full-time and long part-time employment, while the share of those in short part-time employment even decreased.

The analyses on couples' employment patterns showed that the modernised male breadwinner model overtook the traditional male breadwinner model in terms of importance among western German couples, particularly among married couples, while the share of dual earner couples was lowest among married couples. In eastern Germany, by contrast, almost half (46.3%) of all married and cohabiting (46%) were full-time dual earner couples, despite a strong decrease in this employment pattern. The full-time working man/part-time working woman pattern strongly increased among eastern German couples, but was not as important as in western Germany. The shares of traditional male breadwinner couples also differed. While almost one-third of all western German couples lived in this arrangement, the share was lower in the eastern part (about one-fifth). The employment arrangements of British couples were in between those of eastern and western Germany. Unlike in Germany, the share of the full-time/full-time pattern increased between 1997 and 2008 (28%) and was higher than in western but lower than in eastern Germany. The share of couples in Britain with a full-time working man and a part-time working woman was also lower than in western Germany, but higher than in eastern Germany; the share was similar to that of the traditional male breadwinner model, which remained relatively stable at about one-quarter. Great Britain had a higher share of workless couples than western and eastern Germany, and the difference was also quite large between married and cohabiting couples in Britain.

The analysis on the socio-demographic characteristics of mothers of different partnership statuses showed that married, cohabiting, never-married and the group of divorced, widowed and separated lone mothers differed in terms of their age, education and the age of their youngest child. Never-married lone mothers were the youngest group with the youngest children, followed by mothers in non-marital unions and married mothers. Divorced lone mothers were the oldest group. Never-married mothers were also the group with the highest share of

less educated women, followed by mothers in non-marital unions. Married women had more education than these two groups.

6 The determinants of maternal employment in Great Britain and in eastern and western Germany

The following chapter focuses on the determinants of maternal employment in Great Britain and in eastern and western Germany. The question is how the changing social policies, which are partly moving towards an adult worker model in both countries, influenced mothers' employment participation between the late 1990s and 2008 in Great Britain and in eastern and western Germany.

The analyses will focus on the role of policy change in Britain and Germany using the calendar year as an indicator, and on the question of how various groups of mothers have been influenced by the changing policies. In particular, the role of women's education and their partnership status in employment will be investigated.

In a further step, the influence of the partner's characteristics will be examined by reducing the sample to married mothers and to those living in a non-marital union.

6.1 Previous research

A large amount of research has been done on the topic of maternal employment. In addition to the various theoretical approaches that have dealt with this subject, various measures have been used to assess maternal labour market behaviour, such as working hours, employment status and women's earnings. There have been studies on the macro and on the micro levels as well as studies that have combined the two approaches (for an overview of studies on women' employment in general until the early 2000s, see: van der Lippe and van Dijk 2002). In addition, there have been studies that have concentrated

on women's labour market behaviour in one country, and others that provided cross-country comparisons.

The main sources for analyses of maternal employment behaviour in Great Britain have been the various cohort studies and the British Household Panel Study (BHPS), while the main sources in Germany have been the Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP) and the microcensus.

In the following, I will outline studies on the micro level that have been conducted for Great Britain or the United Kingdom and Germany. I will concentrate on studies that used the employment status as the dependent variable. I will outline the results of the studies according to the variables I am mainly interested in: namely, education, partnership status, and, to the extent they are available, the education and the employment status of the partner. Furthermore, the focus will be on changes in the behaviour over time, if changes are investigated in the study. I mainly review studies that are based on large-scale data, since this study follows a similar approach.

Germany

Konietzka and Kreyenfeld (2010) have investigated western German mothers' employment behaviour using microcensus data for the period 1976 to 2004. Regarding partnership status, they found a higher rate of full-time employment among non-married women with children and a higher rate of part-time employment among married mothers in western Germany. They showed that the odds of being full-time or part-time employed increased with education. In addition, they found a general reduction in full-time employment and an increase in part-time employment over time. Less qualified women in particular were shown to have reduced their full-time employment. According to the authors, this is a result of worsening labour market opportunities for less qualified women in general, and of disincentives to work established by the German family policy. The education of the partner had

a clear negative effect on maternal full-time employment. Women with medium educated partners were slightly more likely to be in part-time employment than women with a less educated partner, but having a husband with a university degree had a negative effect on part-time employment. The odds of being in full-time employment decreased for women with less educated husbands between the mid-1970s and the mid-2000s. While part-time employment increased among all groups of western German mothers, it rose to a lesser extent among those with less qualified partners.

Kreyenfeld and Geisler (2006) analysed the employment behaviour of eastern and western German mothers based on data from the German microcensus. They found that in both parts of Germany, women with children experienced a decline in full-time employment, while part-time employment—and short part-time employment in particular—increased considerably between 1991 and 2002. Based on multinomial regression models for the year 2002, they found that in western Germany, never-married as well as divorced and widowed mothers were more likely than married mothers to be employed full-time or to be unemployed than to be inactive. In eastern Germany, never-married, divorced and widowed mothers did not differ significantly in their full-time employment behaviour from married mothers. Regarding the odds of part-time employment, the results showed that, in eastern Germany, never-married mothers were less likely to be employed part-time than married mothers; while in western Germany, there was no difference between married and other mothers. Education was found to have a significantly positive effect on women's full-time and part-time employment in both parts of Germany. In western Germany, the partner's education had a negative effect on married mothers' full-time employment and unemployment, but no effect on their part-time employment. In eastern Germany, the effect of partner's education was less clear than in western Germany. While the partner's education had a positive effect on maternal part-time employment, for full-time

employment there was a positive effect of having a medium educated husband, but no effect of having a husband with a high level of education. With regard to the relative education of the married partners, the authors found that being highly educated and having a highly educated partner increased the odds of maternal full-time employment in eastern and western Germany, while less educated mothers with less educated partners and those who were married to a more highly educated partner than themselves were less likely to be employed.

Hanel and Riphahn (2012) examined mothers' employment in eastern and western Germany with microcensus data for the years 1996 to 2004. Using a logistic regression, they analysed whether a woman was "substantially" employed for at least 20 hours per week. They found that eastern German mothers were more likely to be substantially employed, and that there was a general decline in employment levels between 1996 and 2004. Furthermore, they found a positive effect of women' education, in particular among eastern German mothers. In addition, they found that the decline in employment of 20 hours or more among mothers in eastern Germany was mainly driven by a decrease in employment among less educated mothers. Like Konietzka and Kreyenfeld (2010), the authors attributed this trend to the disincentives to work that mainly affect less qualified mothers. Regarding the effects on employment of partnership status, they found that in both parts of Germany, women without a partner were less likely to be employed for at least 20 hours per week than mothers with a partner. However, Hanel and Riphahn did not distinguish between married and cohabiting mothers, and it is very likely that the effect of non-partnered mothers being less likely to be employed than those with a partner is due to the effects for married and cohabiting mothers that work in different directions.

Matysiak and Steinmetz (2008) analysed women's employment patterns in Poland, eastern and western Germany for the year 2001. They found that non-married mothers were more likely to be employed in

western Germany, while in eastern Germany and Poland the opposite was the case. Regarding the partner's education, Matysiak and Steinmetz (2008) found an interesting difference between western Germany and eastern Germany. While in western Germany having a highly educated husband decreased a woman's chances of being employed, they found the opposite for eastern Germany. In Poland, there was no effect. The authors also investigated the odds of being full-time or part-time employed among working mothers, and found that non-married mothers and women with non-employed husbands were more likely to work full-time. In eastern Germany, women with less qualified husbands were more likely to work full-time. Eastern German mothers with medium and highly qualified husbands were less likely to work full-time. In western Germany, being married to an employed man decreased mothers' chances of being full-time employed in general. In a third step, Matysiak and Steinmetz investigated the odds of being unemployed versus being inactive among non-employed mothers. They showed that unmarried mothers were more likely to be unemployed than inactive compared to married mothers in western Germany. In eastern Germany, there was no such effect among non-married mothers. Non-employment of the husband increased western German mothers' odds of being unemployed, while reduced odds for mothers with working husbands were found. For eastern Germany, they showed that mothers with less educated and highly educated husbands were more likely to be unemployed.

To summarise, the studies on Germany have found that the partnership status plays a significant role in maternal employment, particularly in western Germany. In western Germany, married mothers were found to be less likely to be employed full-time. Some studies have found that married mothers were more likely to be in part-time employment than their non-married counterparts.

A woman's education and that of the partner were also found to be main determinants of mothers' employment. Women's education were

shown to have a positive effect on full-time, as well as on part-time employment, while the findings for the partner's education were rather mixed. In western Germany, having a highly educated partner was found to have a negative effect on employment in general; while for eastern Germany, some studies have shown no effect or even a positive effect of having a highly educated male partner on mothers' employment.

A drawback of all of these studies is that they did not distinguish the partnership status of women precisely enough. Some distinguished between never-married, divorced or widowed and married mothers, which places never-married single mothers and never-married cohabiting mothers in a single category (Geisler and Kreyenfeld 2006; Konietzka and Kreyenfeld 2010). Other studies only distinguished between non-married and married mothers (Matysiak and Steinmetz 2008), or between those with and without a partner (Hanel and Riphahn 2012). This makes it difficult to disentangle the social policy incentives that affect women with different partnership statuses. In this study, my aim is to overcome this problem and to clearly distinguish between married mothers and those in a non-married union, as well as between never-married lone mothers and those who are divorced, separated or widowed.

The studies also differed in their definitions of the dependent variable regarding the thresholds of part-time and full-time employment, or in the categorisation of the dependent variable in general (binary or multinomial variable), which is very likely to influence the results. In this study, I attach importance to a fine differentiation of the employment status. In identifying the extent of employment, I distinguish not only between full-time and part-time employment, as has been done in other studies, but also between long and short part-time employment. The results will show that this differentiation is very meaningful, since short part-time employed women have been a rapidly growing group since the 1990s. In addition, when looking at non-employed women, I

distinguish between those who are unemployed—which means that they are available to enter the labour market and are actively looking for work—and those who are inactive.

Great Britain

Many studies on maternal employment in Great Britain have dealt with the return to work after childbirth, and have thus mainly made use of longitudinal studies, such as the British Household Panel Study (BHPS), or the various cohort studies that exist in Britain. There are fewer studies that have investigated maternal employment with cross-sectional data. Unlike the studies on Germany, which used education as a measurement for the human capital endowment of a person, many British studies also used the occupational status of a woman.

Joshi, Macran and Dex (1996) examined the determinants of women's full-time and part-time employment in the year 1991 using data from the National Child Development Study, a study of persons born in 1958. They showed that women without a partner were less likely to be in full-time or part-time employment than women with a partner. The unemployment of the partner had a negative effect on women's employment in general. Joshi, Macran and Dex (1996) attributed this finding to the benefit system, which created disincentives to work for partners of unemployed people. They also showed that a woman's earning potential, calculated through her education and her employment experience, has a positive effect on being in employment, in particular on being in full-time employment.

McRae (2008) investigated continuous full-time employment among British mothers after a first birth, which is defined as having continuously worked full-time after a period of maternity leave. She found that occupation was a very important determinant for full-time employment among mothers in Britain. Those who were employed in managerial, professional or associate professional jobs were shown to

be significantly more likely to be in continuous full-time employment after childbirth than mothers in manual or sales jobs. Additionally, she showed that the attitudes a woman and her partner had towards the gender division of labour were significant determinants for full-time employment.

Using the Millennium Cohort, Kanji (2011) examined the determinants of mothers' continuous full-time employment after childbirth in the United Kingdom. She found that education and relative education had significant effects on the extent of maternal employment. The qualification of a mother, measured as her education and her occupational status, was shown to have positively influenced her full-time employment. Mothers who were more highly educated than their male partners were also found to be more likely to be in full-time work than to those who had less education than their partners.

Fagan and Norman (2012) analysed the employment status of mothers whose children were about three years old using the Millennium Cohort Study. They found that lone mothers in the United Kingdom were less likely to be employed than partnered mothers. However, among the employed mothers, lone mothers were more likely to be full-time employed than part-time employed compared to mothers who had a partner. In line with McRae's (2008) findings, occupational status was shown to be important for mothers' employment in general, and also for their full-time employment. Mothers whose partners worked very long hours were less likely to be employed than mothers with partners who worked regular full-time hours. Among the employed mothers, those with a non-employed partner were more likely to be working full-time than part-time than those with a partner in full-time employment.

McGinnity (2002) showed that the employment status of the partner can have a significant influence on women's labour force participation in Great Britain and western Germany. Using data from the British

Household Panel Study and the German Socio-Economic Panel, he found that men's unemployment had different effects on their female partners' employment behaviour in the two countries. While in western Germany women who had an unemployed partner were more likely to enter employment than women with an employed partner, McGinnity found the opposite for Great Britain. In particular, this was shown to be the case for the entry into full-time employment. The findings were ascribed to the disincentives of the British benefit system, which includes a dependence allowance that is withdrawn if the partner earns more than this allowance. In Germany, there was no dependence allowance included in the unemployment benefit. Thus, the results seemed to confirm the presence of an "added worker effect" in western Germany. This means that the British unemployment benefit system obviously discourages women's entry into employment, while in Germany this is not the case.

Like the studies on Germany, the studies on Britain have shown that women's education is the main determinant of mothers' employment. The more education a woman has, the more likely she is to be active in the labour market. The same applies to the occupational status. Relative occupation has been shown to be important, too. Women who are more highly educated than their partners are more likely to be employed compared to those who have less education than their male partners. The effect of partnership status on mothers' employment is very different from the effect found in western German. In Great Britain, lone mothers are found to be less likely to be in employment than women with a partner. However, among the employed mothers, lone mothers have been shown to be more likely to be in full-time employment than those with a partner. Regarding the role of the partner's employment status, it has been found that an unemployed partner has a negative effect on mothers' employment.

6.2 Hypotheses

The revision of the institutional context in Germany and Great Britain has shown that both countries have made greater efforts to promote maternal employment in the past two decades. Some researchers have described this development as a shift towards an adult worker model. However, research has shown that individualising and familialising policies have existed in parallel in both countries. While most of the reforms have moved in the direction of a more individualising welfare state, there are still policies in place that have familialising effects. This creates an ambivalence in the social policy measures that is likely to produce an incentive structure that is rather heterogeneous. Depending on women's education, their partnership status and their partner's earning potential, there might be divergent effects on maternal employment behaviour.

The role of women's partnership status

The partnership status of a woman is very likely to influence her labour market behaviour. According to economic theories of the family, employment decisions are made within the household. Based on the human capital of each partner, a couple will jointly decide which partner will put more effort into market work, and which partner will concentrate on housework and childcare (Becker 1993; Lundberg and Pollak 1996). However, some researchers have argued that gender role attitudes are very likely to play a role in parental labour market decisions, in particular in maternal labour market decisions (Duncan et al. 2003). Additionally, these attitudes are also reflected in social policy regulations that establish incentives or disincentives for specific living arrangements, by, for example, providing generous support for male breadwinner marriages (Pfau-Effinger 2004). Thus, these regulations also influence decisions about caring and employment among women within specific living arrangements.

In general, welfare states differ in whether they see mothers primarily as carers or as earners. Because of their dual role, feminist researchers have regarded lone mothers as the group which can "reveal policy logics around the organization of paid and unpaid work" (Hobson 1994: 176); meaning whether a welfare state assigns mothers to the earner or the carer sphere. Although cohabiting mothers do not benefit from the potential financial advantages that are related to marriage, the existence of a second potential earner is assumed to have an influence on mothers' labour market participation. On the one hand, it might be assumed that a second income would decrease the need to be employed. On the other hand, a partner could also provide resources, such as direct help with childcare or financial means to buy childcare services, which would enable mothers to work. Unlike in Britain, in Germany lone mothers have not received special attention from social policy makers in the two last decades. They also have not been granted additional social benefits because of their lone mother status, as they have in Britain. Therefore, we might expect to find that lone mothers in Germany would have a greater need to be active in the labour market than mothers in a non-marital union who have a second earner to rely on. In addition, the joint taxation system, the free health insurance for non-working or marginally employed spouses, the widow's pension scheme as well as the rather generous post-nuptial maintenance regulations prior to 2008 are measures that supported male breadwinner marriages in Germany. Because of the negative incentives created by the social policy system, we might assume that the need to be employed would be lowest among married mothers in Germany.

However, for eastern Germany, we might expect to see that the disincentives to work for married women are mitigated by other effects. First, due to the greater degree of labour market insecurity in the East, men's employment situations may be less stable, which makes the reliance on the male breadwinner model more risky in eastern than in

western Germany. Second, eastern German wages are, on average, lower, which increases the need for two incomes. Third, the provision of childcare, and in particular full-time childcare, is much higher in eastern Germany, which means that there is a much higher degree of defamilialisation in the eastern than in the western part of the country. In addition, studies have shown that attitudes towards maternal employment are more liberal in the eastern than in the western part of Germany. From this argumentation the following hypotheses can be put forward:

I expect to find that in western Germany married mothers are less likely to be active in the labour market than cohabiting mothers (Hypothesis 1a). Cohabiting mothers are less likely to be active than lone mothers in western Germany (Hypothesis 1a).

In eastern Germany, however, I expect to find that the work disincentives established by the social policy measures to be less effective among married mothers. Eastern German married mothers are not less likely to be active in the labour market than cohabiting mothers. Partnered mothers are, however, more likely to be active in the labour market than lone mothers due to the additional resources that a partner provides (Hypothesis 1b).

Unlike in Germany, various social policy measures have created work disincentives for lone mothers in Great Britain. For a long time, the social assistance system has regarded lone mothers mainly as carers, rather than as earners. Consequently, eligibility for social assistance was not conditioned on work search efforts. The combination of an in-work benefit system that was not very transparent or generous and a lack of affordable childcare meant that lone mothers had few incentives to engage in the labour market. For married mothers, however, the British welfare state has not provided the kind of generous work disincentives offered in Germany. Separate taxation has existed in Britain since 1990, and post-nuptial maintenance payments and wid-

ows' pensions have not been as generous as in Germany. Furthermore, unemployment protection and unemployment support have been always rather modest in the liberal British welfare state, which has made the reliance on only one income rather risky.

For Britain, I therefore expect to find that there are no differences between married mothers and those in non-marital unions. But partnered mothers are expected to be more likely to be active in the labour market than lone mothers (Hypothesis 1c).

However, it is important to note the composition of the groups of mothers based on their partnership status. The description of the socio-demographic characteristics of mothers according to their partnership status has shown that they differ in terms of education, mean age and the age of their youngest child (section 5.5.2). In both parts of Germany and in Great Britain, never-married lone mothers are the group of mothers with the lowest educational level. However, the difference in the proportion of women with a low level of education within the group of never-married lone mothers differs between the two parts of Germany and Britain. Whereas in Britain the proportion of those with a low education decreased among the never-married lone mothers between 1997 and 2008 (1997: 44.5%; 2008: 29%), it was very high compared to the reference category, the married mothers, (1997: 25%; 2008: 13.4%). In eastern Germany, a comparable difference was found between the composition of married (1996: 4.7%; 2008: 8.2% of them had low education) and never-married lone mothers (1996: 12.5%; 2008: 22.4%). But, unlike in Britain (and also in western Germany), there was an increase in the proportion of women with a low level of education among all of the eastern German mothers between 1996 and 2008. Although this difference in the educational composition between married and never-married lone mothers can be found in western Germany, too, it is not as high as in the eastern part of the country or in Britain. In addition, the difference in the mean age of the youngest child between married and never-married

mothers was shown to vary between Britain, eastern Germany and western Germany. In western Germany the difference was smaller (between 0.5 and 1.2 years) than in Britain (between 1.1 and 2.4 years) or eastern Germany (between two and 2.9 years). Furthermore, the difference in the mean age between married and never-married lone mothers was lowest in western Germany, slightly higher in eastern Germany and highest in Great Britain.

To summarise, it is important to take into account that never-married lone mothers tend to be younger, less educated and to have younger children than married mothers in both parts of Germany and in Great Britain. Therefore, we need to investigate how the variable partnership status changes after controlling for the covariates of age, age of the youngest child and of course women's education.

The role of women's education

Human capital theory predicts that mothers' engagement in the labour market increases with education due to higher opportunity costs. The German social policy system supports this predicted division of labour, and has created additional negative work incentives for less qualified women with children. One major factor has been the parental leave benefit system that was in operation until 2006. It was dependent on the household income, with low income threshold levels, and it provided only a minimum flat rate of €300 for 24 months or €450 for 12 months. Therefore, mainly the mothers with low earning capacity were entitled to this benefit, while highly educated women with a higher earnings capacity often did not receive the parental leave benefit due to its means-tested character. This increased the opportunity costs of staying out of the labour market for highly educated mothers, and thus increased their incentives to engage in employment, thereby strengthening their attachment to the labour market.

Meanwhile, labour market participation by less educated mothers has

been further discouraged by the low provision of childcare in western Germany, and by the high prices of a market-dominated childcare system in Britain. Due to the dominance of private providers in the British childcare system, prices have been quite high, although the government has tried to improve the situation with the introduction of the National Childcare Strategy. However, the provision of subsidised childcare has mainly been on a part-time basis. Despite financial help, childcare prices have been relatively high, which represents a barrier to the labour market participation of less qualified mothers with low earning potential in Britain.

The analyses on the association between education and attitudes regarding maternal employment have shown that approval of mothers' employment clearly increases with higher education among Britons, which further supports the expectation that British mothers are more likely to be in the labour market the more highly educated they are. For eastern and western Germany, the associations between education and a positive attitude towards maternal employment have been shown to be less clear. In western Germany, the proportion of those who approve of maternal employment is higher among highly educated women than among medium and less educated women, while in eastern Germany no clear educational gradient has been found. There are even some indications that less educated eastern Germans are more likely to approve of the employment of mothers than their highly educated counterparts.

Given these considerations, *I expect to find that education has a positive effect on the labour market participation of mothers in both parts of Germany and Great Britain (Hypothesis 2).*

The role of women's education and their partnership status

However, it is likely that the effect of a woman's partnership status on her employment behaviour will differ depending on her education,

since the social policy incentives and disincentives that are related to the partnership status vary in their impact on less and highly educated women. On the one hand, we might expect to find for western Germany that among the less educated mothers married mothers are those for whom the social policy regulations created the biggest work disincentives, compared to mothers in non-marital unions or lone mothers. The low opportunity costs of staying out of the labour market and the financial incentives that are established by the state for male breadwinner marriages might support the decision of less educated married mothers not to work. Thus, we would expect to find that the difference between married mothers and mothers in non-marital unions and lone mothers is highest among the less educated.

On the other hand, the difference in the labour market participation of less educated mothers relative to medium and highly educated mothers might be not as big as expected since, in general, the labour market situation is difficult for *all* less educated women with children, regardless of whether they are married, cohabiting or single. For the medium and highly educated mothers, the opportunities on the labour market are greater than for less educated women with children. Thus, the opportunity costs of staying out of the labour market might be too high for highly educated non-married mothers, since they do not benefit from the subsidies that are granted to married couples. Given that many of the highly educated married western German mothers are married to equally highly educated partners with a high earning potential, it is likely that they benefit the most from the tax-splitting system. Therefore, we could also expect to find that the differences between married mothers and non-married mothers is highest among the more highly educated women. However, incentives have been created for marginal employment *(Minijobs*), especially among married women, because they are insured through their spouse and may not have to pay social insurance contributions or taxes. This is likely to have a positive

effect on married mothers' short part-time employment among all educational groups. From this, it follows:

In western Germany, I expect to find that among all educational groups married mothers are less likely to be in full-time or long part-time employment than cohabiting or lone mothers. However, the differences between married and other mothers are more pronounced among medium and highly educated women than among the less educated. Married mothers of all educational groups are expected to be more likely to be in short-part time employment than cohabiting or lone mothers (Hypothesis 3a).

As has already been outlined, I expect to find that in eastern Germany the social policy disincentives that apply to married mothers do not play the same role as in western Germany. Therefore, we can also assume that women's partnership status does not play the same role among the different educational groups as it does in western Germany. The eastern German labour market situation has been more difficult than in western Germany, especially for the less qualified. Because the lower wages and the equally insecure labour market situation of men does not make the male breadwinner model very attractive for less educated married mothers, I assume that they behave similarly to mothers in non-married unions. With regard to less educated lone mothers in eastern Germany, we could expect to find that they have a lower level of labour market participation compared to less educated mothers with a partner, since they do not benefit from the resources (e.g., help with childcare) that a partnership entails. In addition, chapter 5.5.2 has shown that married mothers in eastern Germany are older than lone or cohabiting mothers and that they have older children, which are more favourable conditions for employment.

I expect to find that in eastern Germany, lone mothers are less likely to be employed than partnered mothers among the less educated, while the differences between mothers with different partnership sta-

tuses should be less pronounced among the highly educated (Hypothesis 3b).

In Britain, where marriage is not as supported as it is in Germany, but where social benefits have established work disincentives for lone mothers, I expect to find that among less educated women, the differences in labour market participation between partnered and lone mothers are greater than between medium and highly educated mothers. In addition, the childcare system is mainly privately organised and costs are quite high, which might represent an obstacle for low income earners, and especially for low-income earning lone mothers without a second income to rely on. Among the medium and highly educated mothers, we may expect to find that lone mothers are still less likely to be employed than partnered mothers with a similar educational level, but the differences might not be as large as among the less educated mothers, since having a higher level of education provides better labour market opportunities and higher wages, which in turn provide access to defamilialising measures such as childcare. Based on these considerations, the following hypothesis is formulated:

In Britain, lone mothers are expected to be less likely to be employed than partnered mothers among all educational groups. However, the difference is expected to be more pronounced among the less educated mothers than among the medium and highly educated women with children (Hypothesis 3c).

The role of policy change

In order to understand the influence of changing social policies on maternal employment in the two countries, which some researchers have characterised as a trend towards an adult worker model or individualising model, I employ the calendar year as a measure of policy change. In general, I expect to find that there is a positive time trend due to the implementation of policies that encourage employment par-

ticipation among women with children in Britain and in Germany. In Germany, for example, there has been an expansion of childcare provision since 2005, a shortening of the period during which parental leave benefit can be received in 2007, and a much stronger focus on activation in labour market policy since 2005.

When analysing the role of policy change, the macro-economic conditions need to be taken into account since they have varied during the period that is studied. Unemployment was relatively high in eastern Germany between 1996 and 2004. The proportion of women who were looking for employment was about 19% during these years. The share decreased after 2005, and in 2008 14.5% of eastern German women were unemployed. Eastern German men's unemployment was slightly lower in 1996 (14.1%) and in 2000 (17.8%), but it was as high as women's unemployment in the year 2004 (20.6%). In 2008, the labour market situation of eastern German men had also slightly improved, with the unemployment rate having fallen to 14.8%. Thus, labour market conditions were rather difficult for eastern German mothers in the years 1996, 2000 and 2004, and were slightly better in 2008. Men's unemployment rates even increased between the mid-1990s and the mid-2000s, and did not start to decrease until after 2005.

Compared to 1996, labour market conditions for western German mothers' employment were more favourable in subsequent years, particularly in 2008. In general, men's and women's unemployment rates were much lower in western than in eastern Germany. In 1996, 9.7% of women and 10.1% of men were unemployed in western Germany. In 2000, unemployment was even slightly lower than in 1996, as 8.3% of women and 8.5% of men were registered as unemployed in this year. While western German women's unemployment was at the same level as four years before, men's unemployment was slightly higher in 2004 (10.3%). In 2008, unemployment had fallen to a level of 7.4% among western German women and 7% among western German men.

In Britain, the trend toward a stronger activation started earlier than in Germany. When New Labour came to power in 1997, they put considerable emphasis on the implementation of welfare-to work-policies, which were designed to increase the employment participation of non-working individuals who received social assistance benefits, particularly lone mothers whose employment rates had been very low in the past. In addition, with the implementation of the National Childcare Strategy, the provision of childcare increased.

Compared to Germany, women's unemployment was much lower in Great Britain in the years observed. In 1997, 6% of British women and 7.9% of British men were searching for work. The Blair government implemented measures to further decrease unemployment, and the proportion of men and women looking for work fell in the following years: 6% of women and 4.9% of men were unemployed in 2000, and the proportions were 5.2% among women and 4.4% among men in 2004. In 2008, the UK was hit hard by the financial crisis and the subsequent recession. As a consequence, unemployment increased to a level of 6.3% among women and 5.2% among men.

I expect to find that changes in social policy not only influence whether a woman with children participates in the labour market, but also shape the extent of mothers' employment.

In Britain, the in-work benefit *Working Families' Tax Credit*, which was later replaced by the *Working Tax Credit*, only subsidises employment of more than 16 hours per week. There is also an additional benefit for persons who work at least 30 hours a week.

Therefore, I assume that mainly long part-time and full-time employment increased among mothers after the introduction of these in-work benefits in Great Britain (Hypothesis 4a).

In western Germany, one of the biggest barriers to maternal (full-time) employment has been the insufficient provision of childcare, in particular full-time childcare. In addition, the fact that second earners with

marginal earnings (*Minijob)* do not have to pay social insurance contributions and benefit from free health insurance if they are married creates an incentive for short part-time employment. The earnings threshold for *Minijobs* increased in the observation period, and thus made these forms of employment more attractive.

I expect to find that the likelihood of being in long and short part-time employment increased among mothers in eastern and western Germany between 1996 and 2008 (Hypothesis 4b).

The role of policy change according to partnership status

In Britain, the New Labour government put considerable emphasis on the activation of lone mothers, who have been perceived as a major problem for the British welfare state due to their high inactivity rates, while partnered women with children have had much higher employment rates. The replacement of the in-work benefit *Family Credit* with the *Working Families' Tax Credit,* and the replacement of the *Working Tax Credit* aimed at providing stronger work incentives for low-income earners by substituting their wages. Since the prerequisite for receiving this in-work benefit was an employment contract of at least 16 hours per week, with an extra bonus paid to those who work 30 or more hours, we can expect to find that long part-time and full-time employment, but not short part-time employment increased among lone mothers between 1997 and 2008. Additionally, the British welfare state has tried to put more pressure on lone mothers to search for work in the first place by implementing the *New Deal for Lone Parents,* an active labour market programme that sought to bring lone mothers into work by compulsory meetings with job advisors.

In contrast, the regulations regarding the *Working Families' Tax Credit* and the *Working Tax Credit* established a potential negative work incentive for women with a partner, since a second earner is likely to

earn an income that raises the household income above the threshold for the eligibility of the in-work benefit.

Therefore, I expect to find that the likelihood of being in full-time and long part-time employment increased among lone mothers in Great Britain after 1997, while there was no such increase among mothers with a partner (Hypothesis 5a).

The fourth Hartz Act (*Hartz IV*) that came into force in 2005 represented a shift away from a status-protecting passive welfare system towards the principle of activation through the replacement of unemployment assistance and social assistance with a means-tested basic income support. Unlike similar measures in Britain, the German unemployment benefit II regulations do not focus on a specific group of mothers in Germany. However, many non-working lone mothers received social assistance before 2005, and although they were also supposed to be required to enter the labour market, in practice they were often allowed to remain in non-employment until their youngest child reached school age or even age 12 (Adema et al. 2003, Giddings et al. 2004). Thus, we can assume than non-working German lone mothers also experienced a higher degree of activation if they received the new unemployment benefit II. In general, this reform has expanded the pool of people who are considered "capable of working", since formerly inactive mothers with partners who are dependent on the new income support are obliged to participate in the labour market as well, provided they do not have caring responsibilities for young children.

These new activation rules should have increased maternal employment participation among lone as well as among partnered mothers after 2004. We may expect to see that the activation of partnered mothers mainly occurred among western German mothers, since the male breadwinner model has been more prevalent in this part of the country than in eastern Germany. As has already been explained, in eastern Germany the dual earner model has been more common and

more accepted. I do not expect to find a substantial change in the employment behaviour of partnered eastern German mothers due to the unemployment benefit II reform.

Research has shown that, because of case managers' gender-specific assumptions about the division of labour within couples, lone mothers are more likely to be placed in labour market programmes than partnered mothers, and that this happens more often in western Germany than in eastern Germany (Zabel 2011). Therefore, we might assume that lone mothers are more likely to be activated in general than mothers with a partner. However, the *Hartz IV* reform eliminated priority access to childcare for lone mothers, which might have made employment more difficult for them after that time.

Due to the new unemployment benefit II system, I expect to find in western Germany that there was an increase in the odds of being in employment among partnered as well as among lone mothers in 2008 compared to 2004. (Hypothesis 5b).

In eastern Germany, the introduction of unemployment benefit II should not have led to a substantial change in behaviour among different groups of mothers. I do not expect to find differences in the changes over time between married, cohabiting and lone mothers (Hypothesis 5c).

The role of partner's education and relative education between the partners

The characteristics of a male partner in the household are very likely to have an influence on the employment of women with children. Becker's economic theory of the family, as well as bargaining approaches, assume that employment decisions are made within the household. The partner whose earning potential is higher will engage in the labour market, while the partner with lower human capital will concentrate on the work in the household and childrearing. Thus, hav-

ing a less educated partner should increase a woman's labour supply, while having a highly educated partner should decrease it. This pattern is partly amplified by social policy incentives in Germany.

As has already been described, the German social policy system supports a traditional division of labour between married partners. The benefits of the tax-splitting system increase with the difference between the partners' incomes, and the splitting advantage is very high if one partner does not have any income and the other partner has a high income.

Although separate taxation exists in Britain, the market-dominated expensive childcare system tends to discourage mothers who are more less educated than their male partners from working. We can therefore expect to find that having a more highly educated partner has a negative effect on women's employment participation in Britain.

Women who have highly educated partners are less likely to be active in the labour market than those with a medium or less educated partner (Hypothesis 6 a).

We expect to find that mothers who have a more highly educated partner (relative to their own education) are less likely to be active in the labour market in Great Britain or in eastern and western Germany (Hypothesis 6b).

The role of the partner's employment status

According to economic theory, an unemployed partner should increase the other partner's labour supply. Women's employment behaviour after their partners have become unemployed has been discussed in the economic literature in the context of the added worker effect. Following this hypothesis, a woman will increase her work effort after her male partner has become unemployed to compensate for the income loss (McGinnity 2002). However, she might also be dis-

couraged by the labour market situation and an unsuccessful job search process, which leads to the discouraged worker effect. The incentives and disincentives created by the unemployment benefit systems are assumed to play an important role in women's labour market decisions. As has already been discussed, the British unemployment benefit system has not established a positive work incentive for the partner of an unemployed person (usually the female partner) due to a working hours threshold of 24 hours, after which the claimant's entitlement is withdrawn, and a quite low earnings disregard of £10 per week, after which the benefit is cut. In addition, the New Deal programme *New Deal for the partner of unemployed* is only voluntary. Against this background, a clear hypothesis can be formulated:

For Britain I assume that the benefit system has a negative work incentive for mothers who have an unemployed partner. They are expected to be less likely to be employed than women with an employed partner (Hypothesis 7a).

In Germany, neither the unemployment benefit system that was in force until 2004, nor the new unemployment support system that has been in effect since 2005 are assumed to have a comparable negative effect on partnered women's employment as in Britain. Before the Hartz IV reform in 2005, unemployed persons who had paid social insurance contributions before their unemployment received either unemployment benefits or unemployment assistance, both of which were income-related. Unemployment assistance was, however, means-tested on the household income. Since 2005, the insurance-based and income-related unemployment benefit I is paid for 12 months, which is twice as long as in Britain (six months). After that, unemployed persons receive unemployment benefit II, which is a basic income support and is means-tested. However, the earnings disregard is higher (€100 per month) than in Britain. Unlike before, since the Hartz IV reform the emphasis has been on the activation of all capable, adult members of a household. They are obliged to search for work if they

do not have care obligations for children under the age of three.

I expect to find that the added worker effect dominates in eastern and western Germany, and that women with unemployed partners are more likely to be active in the labour market than those with an employed partner (Hypothesis 7b).

However, it is important to take into account that attitudes and assumptions about the gendered division of labour shape employment decisions, and that these decisions may not be economically rational. In this context, it has been argued that the gender-specific employment arrangement in households may not be abruptly switched after the (male) partner becomes unemployed (McGinnity 2002). Additionally, due to the limitations of the data we do not know how long the male partner has been unemployed, which is very likely to have an influence on a woman's labour market behaviour. If the phase of unemployment is assumed to last only briefly, couples are probably less prone to change their division of labour, particularly if there are children in the household. Furthermore, it has also been shown that in practice, partnered women are less likely to be activated than lone mothers by the employment agencies due to gendered assumptions about the distribution of caring obligations (Zabel 2011; Achatz and Trappmann 2011). In addition, we must also be aware that it is likely that there are selection effects. Women with unemployed partners might also be those who are less attached to the labour market. Although I control for education and other variables, there might still be factors that I am not able to capture.

6.3 Data, method, samples and variables

Data

As for the descriptive analyses, I use the British Labour Force Survey of the years 1997, 2000 , 2004 and 2008 and the German microcensus for the years 1996, 2000, 2004 and 2008. The datasets of the various years are pooled but the two parts of Germany and Great Britain are analysed separately. A description of the dataset can be found in the appendix.

Method and dependent variable

I use a multinomial logistic regression to investigate the determinants of maternal employment (Hosmer, Lemeshow and Sturdivant 2013; Kühnel and Krebs 2010). The dependent variable is similar to the one which was already been described in chapter 5. It indicates the employment status of a mother. However, I excluded mothers who are still in education and are inactive. In the first step, I distinguish between full-time employment, long part-time employment (16-29 hours/week), short part-time employment (1-15 hours/week), parental leave, unemployment and inactivity. The category "inactivity" is used as the reference category. In the second and third steps, women on parental leave are dropped, and the dependent variable reduces to five categories. The relative risk ratio is used to interpret the results. The analyses were conducted with StataSE 12.

Samples

For the analyses in this chapter, three different samples for the two parts of Germany and Great Britain are used. Sample A includes all women between the ages 18 and 50 who live in private households at the family's place of residence. They must be the head or partner of the head of a family and have at least one child under the age of 18

living with them. Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded.[38] In addition, I exclude women who are inactive and in education. Women who are in sample B do have to fulfil the same criteria as in sample A, but in addition I exclude women with children under age three. Finally, in sample C lone mothers are excluded. This sample consists only of partnered women who have children between ages three and 17. A description of the samples can be found in the appendix.

Independent variables

The independent variables are the same that were used for the analyses in chapter 5. For e*ducation* I use different definitions in the British (CASMIN classification) and the German data. British women as classified as having a low level of education if they are group 1 of the CASMIN classification, group 2 have a medium level and group 3 have a high level of education (Brauns and Steinmann 1999). For the German classification, the vocational education is used as an indicator for low (no vocational degree), medium (vocational degree) or high education (college or university degree) levels of education.

Calendar year is another key covariate. For Great Britain, I use the years 1997, 2000, 2004 and 2008; while for Germany I distinguish between the years 1996, 2000, 2004 and 2008.

I further distinguish women according to their *partnership status* (married, cohabiting, never married lone mothers and divorced, separated or widowed women). It has been shown in the descriptive analyses that there are strong differences regarding the education and also the age of children, which make this detailed distinction useful.

[38] The reason for the exclusion of women in same-sex partnerships is twofold. On the one hand, the proportion is very small. On the other hand, if they are in civil partnerships they do not have the same advantages and rights as opposite-sex marriages in Germany. Since the major question of this work is to what extent social policies, in particular family policies influence the employment behaviour of mothers, women in same-sex partnerships are excluded since they do not benefit from these policies.

The *number of children* (one, two or three and more) as well as the *age of the youngest child* (0-2 years, 3-5 years, 6-9 years or 10-17 years) are expected to have an important effect on maternal employment participation. Furthermore, I consider *women's age*. I distinguish between the age groups 18-25 years, 26-30 years, 31-35 years and 36-40 and 41-50 years. While I control for *ethnicity* (white; black Caribbean, black African or other black; Asian or other ethnicity) in Great Britain, I use *nationality* of the mother (German, non-German) in the German models. Additionally, I control for the *size of place of residence* in Germany. I distinguish between communities with less than 20,000 inhabitants, cities with 20,000-499,999 inhabitants, and cities with 500,000 inhabitants or more. For Great Britain, the data do not contain such an indicator. Partner's education has been generated in a comparable manner. However, partner's employment status is slightly different than the variable for women. Due to the low prevalence of part-time employment among fathers, I decided to combine the short part-time employed and those in long part-time employment.

6.4 Multivariate results

6.4.1 Maternal labour force participation in Great Britain, eastern and western Germany – results of the general model

In the first model, sample A is used to analyse the determinants of employment status among all mothers with a child below age 18. The results of the multivariate regression models for western Germany, eastern Germany and Great Britain are displayed in Table 22, Table 23 and Table 24). The first model for the two German regions and Great Britain (model 1.1 a, model 1.2 a and 1.3 a) shows the effect of the calendar year and the partnership status. In the second model (1.1 b, 1.2 b and 1.3 b), the variables woman's age, ethnicity/nationality,

number of children and age of the youngest child are added. In Germany, the second model (model b) also includes the place of residence. The third model (model c) additionally includes the education of the woman.

The role of the calendar year

In interpreting the calendar year, it should be taken into account that the share of inactive mothers, which serves as the reference category, has changed in western and eastern Germany over time. While the proportion strongly increased between 1996 and 2008 in western Germany, in eastern Germany the share of inactive mothers decreased. In Great Britain, there was only a slight increase between 1997 and 2008.

The results for the calendar year show an increase in the odds for full-time and long part-time employment in western Germany and Great Britain. While for Britain this increase was also observed in the descriptive results, the western German descriptive results only show an increase in long part-time employment. The proportion of full-time employed mothers even slightly declined between 1996 and 2004, and then increased in 2008. The reason for the opposite finding in the multinomial model is due to the reference category. Since there was a strong decline in the proportion of inactive mothers, which serves as the reference, the coefficient for full-time employment is positive over time. In eastern Germany, the decline in full-time employment within the observation period can be observed in the multivariate as well as in the descriptive results. Like in Great Britain and western Germany, the chance of being in long part-time employment increased among eastern German mothers between 1996 and 2008.

We can observe for both parts of Germany that the relative risk ratios of being short part-time employment increased substantially among mothers. Mothers became more likely to work up to 16 hours per

week than to be inactive compared to the year 1996. This supports hypothesis 4b, which assumes an increase in the odds of being in short part-time employment in eastern and western Germany due to the rise in the earnings thresholds for the *Minijobs* in the 1990s and the 2000s. In addition, *Minijobs* are tax-free and employees do not have to pay any social contributions; married persons already have family health insurance if the spouse is employed and pays social contributions. Thus, this is a very attractive arrangement for second earners.

In contrast, the chances of being in short part-time employment decreased among mothers in Britain in the years 2004 and 2008, which may be related to the financial support of employment of at least 16 hours per week via the Working Families' Tax Credit, and, later, the Working Tax Credit. Unlike in eastern and western Germany, there was only a slight change in the proportion of the reference category, the inactive mothers, between 1997 and 2008.

Regarding the chances of mothers being on parental/maternity leave rather than being inactive, we can observed that there was an increase over time among mothers in both parts of Germany and in Great Britain. This may be related to the fact that the proportion of women who are employed before the birth of their children has increased over time, and that fewer women drop out of the labour market and become inactive. In Germany, labour market attachment is supported by a long parental leave of three years, during which job protection is guaranteed. In Britain, the increase in the odds of being on maternity leave can be ascribed to the extension of the duration of maternity leave between the mid-1990s and the late-2000s. While in 1997 women were allowed to be away from their job for a period of 14-28 weeks (depending on their tenure), this period increased to 52 weeks for all women regardless of their tenure in 2008, which is reflected in the results.

Among western German mothers the risk of unemployment was high-

er in the years 2004 and 2008 than in the year 1996. In eastern Germany, the first model (1.2 a) shows a decline in the risk of unemployment between 1996 and 2008. However, if we control for other variables, the effect for the year 2004 disappears. This confirms the findings from the descriptive results. In general, the decrease in the odds of being unemployed among eastern German mothers between 1996 and 2008 can also be related to the increase in the proportion of mothers within the reference group, the inactive mothers. In addition, the labour market situation had also improved in 2008 compared to the years before: the female unemployment rate had fallen to 14.8%, compared to about 19% in the years before.

In Britain, mothers were less likely to be unemployed in the year 2004 than in the year 1997. In the first and second model (1.3 a and 1.3 b), there were no significant effects for the year 2000 and the year 2008. However, after controlling for women's education (model 1.3 c), there was a reduced risk of unemployment among British mothers for the years 2004 and 2008 compared to 1997. These results reflect the general decrease in unemployment in Britain after the New Labour government was elected in 1997 and started to implement programmes to combat unemployment and worklessness.

The role of the partnership status

The results on the effect of the partnership status show that it had a significant effect on mothers' employment status in both parts of Germany and in Great Britain. However, as expected in the hypotheses, the direction of the effects in western Germany was different from those in eastern Germany and Great Britain.

In western Germany, lone and cohabiting women with children were significantly more likely to work full-time or long part-time than to be inactive, compared to married mothers. Their odds of being unemployed were also considerably higher than those of married women

with children. After controlling for education, the results showed that cohabiting western German mothers were more likely to be on parental leave than married mothers, but that lone mothers did not differ in this respect from married women with children. However, with regard to short part-time employment, married mothers living in western Germany were significantly more likely than cohabiting or lone mothers to be working between one and 16 hours per week. In contrast, the pattern among eastern German mothers was different. Married mothers were more likely to be in full-time or long part-time employment than lone mothers in eastern Germany. The never-married lone mothers and also the group of divorced, widowed or separated lone mothers were more likely to be unemployed but less likely to be on parental leave than married mothers in eastern Germany.

Although the odds of being in full-time employment were lower among cohabiting women with children than among married mothers in model 1.2a, after controlling for the age of the youngest child and education, the odds became slightly positive. Like lone mothers, women in non-marital unions were less likely to be in short part-time employment and were more likely to be to be unemployed. After controlling for the age of the youngest child (model 1.3b) the differences in the odds of being on parental leave compared to married mothers disappeared. Unlike in western Germany, lone, cohabiting and married mothers did not differ in their odds of being in short part-time employed, after controlling for additional covariates, such as children's characteristics and education (model 1.2c).

The different results for eastern and western Germany regarding mothers' chances of being active in the labour market indicates that there is likely a different interplay between social policies, attitudes and economic needs in the two parts of the country. Although the labour market and family policies as well as the tax policies have been the same in the eastern and the western parts of Germany since the beginning of the 1990s, the incentives for maternal employment be-

haviour seem to work differently. We can assume that, due to the higher insecurity of men's labour market position and the lower wage level in general, the need to have two incomes is greater in eastern than in western Germany. Additionally, the advantage married couples have through the joint taxation system is lower in eastern Germany due to men's lower wages and the resulting smaller income differences between the partners. These economic needs, combined with a better childcare infrastructure and a greater acceptance of working mothers leads to higher rates of labour force participation among eastern German married women with children compared to lone mothers. In addition, we also have to take into account that, compared to all other groups of mothers in eastern Germany, married mothers are on average the ones with the highest level of education. Thus, there might be a selection effect into marriage whereby highly educated and more economically successful mothers are more prone to get married.

In western Germany, married mothers are more likely to be short part-time employed because the social policy regulations clearly support the arrangement of a full-time (male) earner and a (female) second earner who only works part-time. The *Minijob* is an employment arrangement in which employees are not obliged to pay social security contributions or taxes, so that the gross income equals the net income. In addition, married persons are allowed to obtain their health insurance via their employed spouses without incurring additional costs. Since the earnings threshold have been extended over time (in 2008, employees were able to earn €400 with a *Minijob*) this arrangement has become more and more attractive for married women. In eastern Germany, this arrangement constitutes a much higher risk for a couple's economic welfare due to the more insecure labour market situation in general.

In Britain, welfare state policies have established rather negative incentives for lone mothers to participate in the labour market. However, unlike in Germany, there have been no incentives for married

women in Britain to stay out of the labour market. In addition, childcare has been relatively expensive. The effects of women's partnership status in Britain are similar to those observed in eastern Germany. In models 1.3a and 1.3b, British lone and cohabiting mothers were less likely to be full-time or part-time employed than married mothers. In particular, never-married lone mothers were much less likely to be employed and were less likely to be on parental leave than married mothers. Like in the two parts of Germany, lone mothers were more likely to be unemployed than married mothers. These results are in line with the proposed hypothesis. However, the hypothesis also stated that there should be no differences between married mothers and those in non-married unions in Britain. I did not find evidence to support this hypothesis. However, after controlling for education, mothers in non-married unions were more likely to be full-time employed, unemployed and on parental leave, but were less likely to be part-time employed than married mothers in Britain. The reason might be that certain relevant characteristics of the group of cohabiting mothers differed from those of married British mothers. Compared to married mothers, cohabiting mothers were younger and had younger children, which explains their higher odds of being on parental leave. In addition, they were less educated, and a higher proportion of them were living in relationships in which both partners had a low level of education. Therefore, their higher rates of full-time employment can be explained by their economic need to work more hours than married women. They were also at higher risk of unemployment than married women.

The role of education

Education clearly had the expected significant effect in Great Britain and in both regions of Germany. The higher her formal educational level, the more likely a mother was to be employed, unemployed, or

on parental leave, rather than inactive. In general, these results reflect differences by education in women's labour market opportunities and earnings potential. In Germany, social policies have created work disincentives for less educated women with children. The British results also point to the fact that labour market participation depends on the affordability of childcare. In Britain, the private sector has always played a major role in the provision of childcare, and thus prices have been quite high. Although the National Childcare Strategy introduced measures that provide financial support for working parents, the costs of childcare are still much higher in Britain than in Germany. Thus, having to pay for childcare might be an obstacle to employment for less qualified women with low earnings potential.

The role of woman's age, nationality/ethnicity and the size of the place of residence

The second model includes further characteristics of the woman that are expected to have an effect on her labour market participation. The number of children and the age of the youngest child showed the expected effects in eastern and western Germany, as well as in Great Britain. The more children a woman has, the less likely she was to be employed or unemployed. The age of the child had a positive effect. The older her youngest child was, the higher a woman's chances were of being active in the labour market.

Regarding women's age, the results showed a reversed u-shaped effect for the chances of being active in the labour market or of being on parental leave, versus the chances of being inactive in eastern Germany. However, the results for the age group 36-40 years were not significant compared to the reference (30-35 years), apart from the result for parental leave. In western Germany, we can see a similar age pattern. However, western German mothers of the two youngest age groups (18-25 years and 26-30 years) did not significantly differ from the ref-

erence group (31-35 years) in terms of their unemployment risk. In Great Britain, there was also a reversed u-shaped effect of age for the chances of being employed or on parental leave, but a distinct negative effect for the risk of unemployment. Younger British mothers were more likely to be unemployed rather than inactive compared to older mothers.

Regarding the effect of ethnicity in Great Britain, we can observe that black women were more likely to be full-time employed and less likely to be part-time employed than white women. British black mothers did not differ from white women in their chances of being on parental leave, but they were more likely to be unemployed than whites. Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Chinese mothers were less likely to be employed and were also less likely to be on parental leave than white mothers. Their risk of unemployment did not significantly differ from that of white women.

In western Germany, non-German mothers were less likely to be employed or on parental leave than mothers of German nationality. However, women of foreign nationality had a slightly higher risk of unemployment. Like in western Germany, mothers of foreign nationality in eastern Germany were less likely to be employed or on parental leave than mothers of German nationality. In contrast to western Germany, in eastern Germany non-German mothers had a lower risk of unemployment than German mothers.

The results indicated that there were no significant differences in employment chances among eastern German mothers based on the size of the place of residence. After controlling for education (model 1.2 c), we can see only a weakly significant positive effect for the chances of being long part-time employed among eastern German mothers who were living in large cities compared to those who were living in small towns. Furthermore, this group was also more likely to be on parental leave and less likely to be unemployed than eastern German mothers

who were living in small towns. In western Germany, community size showed a negative effect for the chances of being long part-time and short part-time employed and of using parental leave. For the chances of being full-time employed, we can observe a negative effect among western German who were living in communities with 20,000 to 499,999 inhabitants, but a slightly positive effect among women in large western German cities compared to mothers in small western German towns. However, the latter effect disappeared after controlling for education. The risk of unemployment was higher among western German women in larger communities than among those in small towns.

Table 22: Multinomial logistic regression models 1.1 a-1.1 c, relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive,western Germany, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008

	Model 1.1 a										Model 1.1 b										Model 1.1 c									
	Full-time		Long p-t		Short p-t		Par. leave		Unempl.		Full-time		Long p-t		Short p-t		Par. leave		Unempl.		Full-time		Long p-t		Short p-t		Par. leave		Unempl.	
	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.
Calendar year																														
1996	0.96	*	0.70	***	0.51	***	0.69	***	0.62	***	0.98	n.s.	0.72	***	0.50	***	0.61	***	0.61	***	1.00	n.s.	0.74	***	0.51	***	0.61	***	0.61	***
2000	1.05	**	0.88	***	0.82	***	1.03	n.s.	0.63	***	1.06	***	0.90	***	0.82	***	0.92	**	0.63	***	1.08	***	0.91	***	0.83	***	0.92	**	0.63	***
2004	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
2008	1.21	***	1.24	***	1.36	***	1.39	***	1.04	n.s.	1.24	***	1.31	***	1.46	***	1.46	***	1.06	*	1.21	***	1.26	***	1.40	***	1.40	***	1.03	n.s.
Partnership status																														
married	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
cohabiting	2.87	***	1.60	***	0.75	***	2.26	***	2.73	***	3.13	***	1.88	***	0.85	***	1.28	***	2.93	***	3.25	***	1.98	***	0.89	***	1.39	***	3.00	***
single, never married	2.65	***	1.17	***	0.52	***	1.19	***	3.97	***	2.66	***	1.28	***	0.58	***	0.81	***	3.68	***	2.86	***	1.41	***	0.62	***	0.94	n.s.	3.81	***
divorced, separated, widowed	3.45	***	1.89	***	1.02	n.s.	0.39	***	4.83	***	2.59	***	1.47	***	0.88	***	0.84	**	3.84	***	2.80	***	1.60	***	0.92	**	0.96	n.s.	3.93	***
Woman's age																														
18-25											0.40	***	0.30	***	0.53	***	0.36	***	0.93	n.s.	0.58	***	0.44	***	0.63	***	0.50	***	0.98	n.s.
26-30											0.77	***	0.64	***	0.83	***	0.82	***	1.05	n.s.	0.88	***	0.72	***	0.87	***	0.87	***	1.07	n.s.
31-35											1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
36-40											1.05	**	1.15	***	0.97	n.s.	0.94	*	0.81	***	0.96	**	1.06	***	0.93	***	0.90	***	0.80	***
41-50											0.82	***	0.88	***	0.75	***	0.62	***	0.61	***	0.69	***	0.77	***	0.71	***	0.60	***	0.58	***
Nationality																														
German											1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
Non-German											0.65	***	0.32	***	0.46	***	0.30	***	1.07	**	0.84	***	0.46	***	0.57	***	0.43	***	1.13	***
Size of place of residence																														
<20,000											1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
20,000-<500,000											0.87	***	0.85	***	0.86	***	0.73	***	1.07	**	0.86	***	0.86	***	0.87	***	0.76	***	1.06	**
500,000 or more											1.05	**	0.85	***	0.70	***	0.70	***	1.24	***	1.02	n.s.	0.85	***	0.71	***	0.74	***	1.23	***
Number of children																														
1											1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
2											0.50	***	0.68	***	0.92	***	0.56	***	0.73	***	0.49	***	0.68	***	0.93	***	0.58	***	0.72	***
3+											0.28	***	0.31	***	0.60	***	0.24	***	0.54	***	0.31	***	0.33	***	0.65	***	0.29	***	0.54	***
Age of youngest child																														
0-2											1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
3-5											1.72	***	3.08	***	2.09	***	0.04	***	3.77	***	1.95	***	3.38	***	2.18	***	0.04	***	3.87	***
6-9											2.53	***	4.17	***	2.78	***	0.01	***	4.44	***	3.13	***	4.94	***	3.00	***	0.01	***	4.65	***
10-17											4.35	***	4.92	***	2.89	***	0.00	***	5.39	***	6.05	***	6.41	***	3.27	***	0.00	***	5.80	***
Woman's education																														
no/low education																					0.47	***	0.37	***	0.57	***	0.30	***	0.91	***
medium education																					1		1		1		1		1	
high education																					2.68	***	1.78	***	1.17	***	1.16	***	1.40	***
Model summary																														
Log likelihood (starting model)					-263,018										-263,018										-263,018					
Log likelihood (final model)					-257,660										-233,970										-230,646					
Pseudo R^2					0.020										0.11										0.123					
Number of cases					164,450										164,450										164,450					

(I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence in western Germany, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. (3) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (5) Controlled for missing values in the variable education. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01; n.s. not significant

Table 23: Multinomial logistic regression models 1.2 a-1.2 c, relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive, eastern Germany, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008

	Model 1.2 a										Model 1.2 b										Model 1.2 c									
	Full-time		Long p-t		Short p-t		Par. leave		Unempl.		Full-time		Long p-t		Short p-t		Par. leave		Unempl.		Full-time		Long p-t		Short p-t		Par. leave		Unempl.	
	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.
Calendar year																														
1996	1.38	***	0.84	***	0.35	***	0.56	***	1.15	**	1.25	***	0.73	***	0.31	***	0.74	***	0.99	n.s.	1.22	***	0.71	***	0.30	***	0.71	***	0.98	n.s.
2000	1.00	n.s.	0.78	***	0.60	***	0.86	*	0.81	***	0.93	n.s.	0.73	***	0.57	***	0.91	n.s.	0.77	***	0.92	n.s.	0.72	***	0.56	***	0.90	n.s.s	0.77	***
2004	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
2008	0.77	***	1.05	n.s.	0.93	n.s.	1.21	**	0.53	***	0.92	n.s.	1.19	**	1.02	n.s.	1.23	**	0.60	***	0.93	n.s.	1.19	**	1.01	n.s.	1.23	**	0.59	***
Partnership status																														
married	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
cohabiting	0.62	***	0.43	***	0.58	***	1.63	***	0.80	***	1.03	n.s.	0.68	***	0.90	n.s.	0.94	n.s.	1.31	***	1.10	*	0.73	***	0.93	n.s.	1.02	n.s.	1.33	***
single, never married	0.44	***	0.32	***	0.57	***	0.77	**	1.05	n.s.	0.60	***	0.44	***	0.79	**	0.53	***	1.50	***	0.68	***	0.50	***	0.87	n.s.	0.63	***	1.58	***
divorced, separated, widowed	0.97	n.s.	0.64	***	1.06	n.s.	0.23	***	1.63	***	0.74	***	0.51	***	0.86	n.s.	0.35	***	1.33	***	0.80	***	0.55	***	0.91	n.s.	0.42	***	1.37	***
Woman's age																														
18-25											0.24	***	0.21	***	0.33	***	0.28	***	0.65	***	0.36	***	0.30	***	0.43	***	0.45	***	0.70	***
26-30											0.62	***	0.60	***	0.78	**	0.72	***	0.86	**	0.69	***	0.66	***	0.83	*	0.80	**	0.87	**
31-35											1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
36-40											0.97	n.s.	0.91	n.s.	0.98	n.s.	0.69	***	0.93	n.s.	0.92	n.s.	0.88	*	0.97	n.s.	0.65	***	0.93	n.s.
41-50											0.48	***	0.50	***	0.62	***	0.43	***	0.65	***	0.45	***	0.48	***	0.61	***	0.41	***	0.66	***
Nationality																														
German											1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
Non-German											0.15	***	0.15	***	0.43	***	0.14	***	0.61	***	0.17	***	0.18	***	0.50	***	0.17	***	0.67	***
Size of place of residence																														
<20,000											1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
20,000-<500,000											1.01	n.s.	1.01	n.s.	0.96	n.s.	1.01	n.s.	0.93	n.s.	0.98	n.s.	0.99	n.s.	0.96	n.s.	1.00	n.s.	0.95	n.s.
500,000 or more											1.07	n.s.	1.15	n.s.	0.91	n.s.	1.21	*	0.64	***	1.06	n.s.	1.16	*	0.94	n.s.	1.25	*	0.67	***
Number of children																														
1											1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
2											0.58	***	0.72	***	0.76	***	0.59	***	0.84	***	0.59	***	0.73	***	0.78	***	0.62	***	0.87	***
3+											0.17	***	0.31	***	0.51	***	0.26	***	0.67	***	0.19	***	0.35	***	0.56	***	0.31	***	0.70	***
Age of youngest child																														
0-2											1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
3-5											6.04	***	5.52	***	3.84	***	0.05	***	8.14	***	6.48	***	5.86	***	3.96	***	0.05	***	8.21	***
6-9											8.33	***	6.91	***	5.90	***	0.01	***	9.71	***	9.38	***	7.60	***	6.17	***	0.01	***	9.80	***
10-17											9.62	***	6.49	***	4.89	***	0.00	n.s.	9.91	***	11.34	***	7.41	***	5.20	***	0.00	n.s.	10.02	***
Woman's education																														
no/low education																					0.30	***	0.34	***	0.47	***	0.19	***	0.78	***
medium education																					1		1		1		1		1	
high education																					2.40	***	1.95	***	1.22	*	1.92	**	0.64	***
Model summary																														
Log likelihood (starting model)					-49,064										-49,064										-49,064					
Log likelihood (final model)					-48,014										-43,006										-42,344					
Pseudo R^2					0.02										0.12										0.14					
Number of cases					37,659										37,659										37,659					

(I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence in eastern Germany, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. (3) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (5) Controlled for missing values in the variable education. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01; n.s. not significant

Table 24: Multinomial logistic regression models 1.3 a-1.3 c, relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive, Great Britain, 1997, 2000, 2004, 2008

	Model 1.3 a										Model 1.3 b										Model 1.3 c									
	Full-time		Long p-t		Short p-t		Par. leave		Unempl.		Full-time		Long p-t		Short p-t		Par. leave		Unempl.		Full-time		Long p-t		Short p-t		Par. leave		Unempl.	
	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.
Calendar year																														
1997	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
2000	1.19	***	1.25	***	1.03	n.s.	1.27	***	0.93	n.s.	1.21	***	1.26	***	1.02	n.s.	1.31	***	0.95	n.s.	1.12	***	1.20	***	0.98	n.s.	1.24	**	0.92	n.s.
2004	1.29	***	1.40	***	0.94	n.s.	1.76	***	0.79	***	1.21	***	1.35	***	0.90	***	1.97	***	0.79	***	1.03	n.s.	1.20	***	0.83	***	1.73	***	0.75	***
2008	1.45	***	1.45	***	0.78	***	2.75	***	0.91	n.s.	1.43	***	1.48	***	0.80	***	3.05	***	0.96	n.s.	1.10	***	1.24	***	0.70	***	2.51	***	0.87	**
Partnership status																														
married	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
cohabiting	0.75	***	0.66	***	0.55	***	1.53	***	1.59	***	0.94	*	0.75	***	0.62	***	1.02	n.s.	1.50	***	1.15	***	0.86	***	0.69	***	1.21	***	1.64	***
single, never married	0.28	***	0.33	***	0.19	***	0.22	***	2.06	***	0.27	***	0.34	***	0.22	***	0.22	***	1.48	***	0.35	***	0.41	***	0.25	***	0.28	***	1.68	***
divorced, separated, widowed	0.81	***	0.68	***	0.37	***	0.11	***	2.15	***	0.57	***	0.54	***	0.31	***	0.26	***	1.73	***	0.66	***	0.61	***	0.34	***	0.31	***	1.86	***
Woman's age																														
18-25											0.35	***	0.45	***	0.50	***	0.33	***	1.36	***	0.48	***	0.53	***	0.56	***	0.44	***	1.48	***
26-30											0.74	***	0.77	***	0.83	***	0.80	***	1.23	***	0.84	***	0.82	***	0.87	***	0.91	n.s.	1.27	***
31-35											1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
36-40											1.13	***	1.06	n.s.	1.14	***	0.81	**	0.89	*	1.03	n.s.	1.00	n.s.	1.10	**	0.75	***	0.87	**
41-50											0.90	***	0.90	***	1.05	n.s.	0.51	***	0.67	***	0.74	***	0.82	***	0.99	n.s.	0.46	***	0.65	***
Ethnicity																														
White											1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
Black carribbean, black african or other black											2.29	***	0.76	***	0.69	***	0.97	n.s.	2.23	***	2.18	***	0.76	***	0.70	**	1.00	n.s.	2.21	***
Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese											0.39	***	0.20	***	0.18	***	0.24	***	0.64	***	0.53	***	0.27	***	0.22	**	0.32	***	0.71	***
other											0.65	***	0.28	***	0.35	***	0.44	***	1.16	n.s.	0.74	***	0.33	***	0.40	**	0.55	***	1.20	n.s.
Number of children																														
1											1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
2											0.55	***	0.79	***	1.04	n.s.	0.53	***	0.80	***	0.54	***	0.80	***	1.06	*	0.55	***	0.81	***
3+											0.23	***	0.37	***	0.64	***	0.21	***	0.60	***	0.26	***	0.42	***	0.71	***	0.26	***	0.66	***
Age of youngest child																														
0-2											1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
3-5											1.74	***	1.65	***	1.78	***	0.07	***	1.81	***	2.13	***	1.86	***	1.93	***	0.08	***	1.91	***
6-9											3.01	***	2.67	***	2.30	***	0.05	***	3.00	***	4.27	***	3.29	***	2.67	***	0.07	***	3.34	***
10-17											4.32	***	2.57	***	1.91	***	0.01	***	3.06	***	7.45	***	3.59	***	2.43	***	0.01	***	3.68	***
Woman's education																														
no/low education																					0.26	***	0.37	***	0.48	***	0.35	***	0.56	***
medium education																					1		1		1		1		1	
high education																					2.84	***	1.68	***	1.41	***	2.32	***	1.21	***
Model summary																														
Log likelihood (starting model)					-92,672										-92672.38										-92672.38					
Log likelihood (final model)					-90,607										-84331.47										-82035.47					
Pseudo R^2					0.022										0.09										0.11					
Number of cases					60,056										60056										60056					

Notes: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in Great Britain, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. (3) Women without information on their employment status are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (5) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (5) Controlled for the category "other education" and missing values in the variables "education" and "ethnicity". (II). Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Own calculations. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01; n.s. not significant.

6.4.2 Interaction – Woman's education and partnership status

It has been shown that social policy regulations in Germany and in Britain established different incentives for mothers according to their partnership status. To better understand how these incentives affect women with different educational levels, these two variables are interacted additional models (model 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3).

For western Germany, the hypothesis that married women of all educational groups are less likely to be full-time or part-time employed than cohabiting or lone mothers, but that the gradient increases with education, has been put forward. In addition, it is assumed that since German social policies established considerable incentives for married mothers in particular to be in short part-time employment, they are more likely than lone or cohabiting mothers to be in this kind of employment.

The results (Table 25) mainly support this hypothesis. There were differences between women with different partnership statuses, and married mothers in all educational groups were less likely to be in full-time or long part-time employment than lone or cohabiting mothers. The gradient increased with education, and the differences between married and non-married women were highest among women with a college or university degree. The reason for this increase in the difference with education could be related to the much higher opportunity costs non-married highly educated mothers face if they are not in the labour market compared to less educated mothers. Additionally, highly educated mothers are more likely to be married to equally highly educated husbands, and highly educated married couples benefit more than less educated married couples from the joint taxation system.

Regarding short-part time employment, the results did not fully support the hypothesis. Among less educated mothers, cohabiting and never-married lone mothers were significantly less likely to work up

to 16 hours per week than married less educated mothers. Among the medium educated women, only never-married mothers were significantly less likely to be short part-time employed; cohabiting and divorced with a medium education mothers did not significantly differ from their married counterparts. Among the highly educated western German mothers, no differences between mothers with different partnership statuses were found. An explanation for this result could be that, because the earnings of short part-time employment tend to be low, highly educated married mothers (with highly educated husbands) were more encouraged than highly educated non-married mothers to work in such jobs.

For eastern Germany, the hypothesis was that among the less educated mothers, lone mothers were less likely to be in full-time or long part-time employment than less educated married mothers, while among the medium and highly educated eastern German mothers, no differences between mothers of different partnership statuses were expected. The results mainly supported the hypothesis on highly educated eastern German mothers. There were no significant differences among highly educated eastern German mothers women with different partnership statuses, apart from cohabiting mothers' slightly significant higher odds of being full-time employed compared to married mothers.

However, the results showed that there were no significant differences in the odds of being in full-time or short part-time employment between eastern German married, cohabiting and lone mothers with a low level of education (Table 26). But less educated lone mothers were less likely to be in long part-time employment than married mothers, while cohabiting mothers did not differ from married women with children in this regard. In the group of medium educated eastern Germans, mothers with different partnership statuses varied significantly in their likelihood of being in full-time, long part-time and short part-time employment. Both groups of lone mothers with a medium

education were less likely to be in full-time or long part-time employment, and were more likely to be in short part-time employed than married mothers. Cohabiting mothers, however, showed higher odds of being in full-time employment, and they are also slightly more likely to be in short part-time employment. But, similar to lone mothers, cohabiting eastern German mothers with a medium education were less likely to be in long part-time employment than medium educated married mothers.

In Britain, the hypothesis was that lone mothers of all educational groups were less likely to be working than mothers with a partner. It was expected that the difference would be highest among the less educated women with children. The results indeed showed that both groups of lone mothers were less likely to be in full-time, long part-time or short part-time employment, except for the group of highly educated divorced mothers, who could not be distinguished from highly educated married mothers (Table 27). In line with the hypothesis, the difference between lone and married mothers was found to slightly decrease with education, although only for full-time employment. The differences between lone and married mothers in terms of their odds of being in long or short part-time employment were not very great between less, medium and highly educated mothers. Another deviant result was that cohabiting mothers differed in part from married mothers. The less educated mothers cohabiting mothers did not significantly differ in their full-time or long part-time employment from married mothers; they were however, less likely to be in short part-time employment. Medium educated mothers in non-marital unions were less likely to be in long or short part-time employment than medium educated married mothers, but neither groups differed significantly in their full-time employment behaviour. The highly educated mothers cohabiting mothers were more likely to be in full-time or long part-time employment than the highly educated married mothers, but they did not differ in their short part-time employment behaviour.

This suggests that the welfare benefits that were not tied to lone mothers' work search efforts and high prices for childcare established strong disincentives for lone mothers' employment in Britain, and that these disincentives could not be outweighed even by a higher education and a higher earning potential. The disincentives have the highest influence on the less educated lone mothers.

Table 25: Multinomial logistic regression, interaction between partnership status and education, model 2.1, relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive, western Germany

	Full-time		
	low	**Medium**	**High**
married	1	1	1
cohabiting	2.89 ***	5.11 ***	5.45 ***
nev. marr. lone mother	2.20 ***	5.37 ***	6.55 ***
div./wid./sep. lone mother	1.94 ***	3.94 ***	3.04 ***
	Long part-time		
	low	**Medium**	**High**
married	1	1	1
cohabiting	1.66 ***	2.57 ***	3.17 ***
nev. marr. lone mother	1.13 n.s.	2.11 ***	3.24 ***
div./wid./sep. lone mother	1.35 ***	1.99 ***	1.83 ***
	Short part-time		
	low	**Medium**	**High**
married	1	1	1
cohabiting	0.80 **	0.96 n.s.	1.47 n.s.
nev. marr. lone mother	0.78 **	0.81 **	1.43 n.s.
div./wid./sep. lone mother	0.92 n.s.	1.04 n.s.	1.16 n.s.
	Unemployed		
	low	**Medium**	**High**
married	1	1	1
cohabiting	3.14 ***	3.46 ***	3.97 ***
nev. marr. lone mother	4.36 ***	5.89 ***	4.48 ***
div./wid./sep. lone mother	3.58 ***	4.75 ***	4.77 ***

(I). Sample B: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence in western Germany, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child between the ages 3-17 in the family. (3) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (5) Controlled for missing values in the variable education. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01; n.s. not significant
The results are standardised for the category "married".

Table 26: Multinomial logistic regression, interaction between partnership status and education, model 2.2, relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive, eastern Germany

			Full-time			
	low		**Medium**		**High**	
married	1		1		1	
cohabiting	1.39	n.s.	1.23	**	2.13	*
nev. marr. lone mother	1.16	n.s.	0.76	**	1.08	n.s.
div./wid./sep. lone mother	0.78	n.s.	0.86	*	1.53	n.s.
			Long part-time			
	low		**Medium**		**High**	
married	1		1		1	
cohabiting	1.05	n.s.	0.71	***	1.69	n.s.
nev. marr. lone mother	0.48	**	0.55	***	1.01	n.s.
div./wid./sep. lone mother	0.51	*	0.60	***	0.95	n.s.
			Short part-time			
	low		**Medium**		**High**	
married	1		1		1	
cohabiting	1.59	n.s.	1.02	***	0.42	n.s.
nev. marr. lone mother	1.21	n.s.	1.16	***	1.05	n.s.
div./wid./sep. lone mother	0.84	n.s.	1.04	***	0.91	n.s.
			Unemployed			
	low		**Medium**		**High**	
married	1		1		1	
cohabiting	1.70	**	1.63	***	1.16	n.s.
nev. marr. lone mother	1.81	***	1.97	***	1.99	n.s.
div./wid./sep. lone mother	1.58	**	1.45	***	2.42	n.s.

(I). Sample B: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence in eastern Germany, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child between the ages 3-17 in the family. (3) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (5) Controlled for missing values in the variable education. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01; n.s. not significant
The results are standardised for the category "married".

Table 27: Multinomial logistic regression, interaction between partnership status and education, model 2.3, relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive, Great Britain

	Full-time		
	low	**Medium**	**High**
married	1	1	1
cohabiting	0.95 n..s.	1.12 n.s.	2.31 ***
nev. marr. lone mother	0.21 ***	0.35 ***	0.69 **
div./wid./sep. lone mother	0.41 ***	0.75 ***	1.03 n.s.
	Long part-time		
	low	**Medium**	**High**
married	1	1	1
cohabiting	0.89 n..s.	0.79 ***	1.58 **
nev. marr. lone mother	0.40 ***	0.44 ***	0.53 ***
div./wid./sep. lone mother	0.53 ***	0.67 ***	0.72 ***
	Short part-time		
	low	**Medium**	**High**
married	1	1	1
cohabiting	0.58 ***	0.63 ***	0.95 n.s.
nev. marr. lone mother	0.23 ***	0.27 ***	0.35 ***
div./wid./sep. lone mother	0.36 ***	0.38 ***	0.34 ***
	Unemployed		
	low	**Medium**	**High**
married	1	1	1
cohabiting	1.68 ***	1.50 ***	2.19 **
nev. marr. lone mother	1.81 ***	1.74 ***	3.11 ***
div./wid./sep. lone mother	1.99 ***	2.01 ***	2.29 ***

Notes: (I). Sample B: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in Great Britain, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child between the ages 3-17 in the family. (3) Women without information on their employment status are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (5) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (5) Controlled for the category "other education" and missing values in the variables "education" and "ethnicity". (II). Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Own calculations. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01; n.s. not significant.
The results are standardised for the category "married".

6.4.3 Interaction – Calendar year and partnership status

To investigate how the change in the British and German social policies has influenced mothers with different partnership status, I estimated a model with an interaction between the calendar year and a woman's partnership status. The hypothesis that I put forward for Britain was that there should be an increase in full-time and long part-time employment among lone mothers after 1997, while there should be no increase among women with a partner. Although the odds of being in full-time employment in the year 2000 did not differ significantly from the year 1997, the results for the years 2004 and 2008 in-

deed showed that the odds of being in full-time employment increased among never-married and divorced lone mothers over time (model 3.3, Table 28). The odds of being in long part-time employment also increased among both groups of lone mothers in Britain after 1997. Short part-time employment decreased among divorced lone mothers and also among never-married lone mothers, although the results for the years 2000 and 2004 were not significant.

Table 28: Multinomial logistic regression, interaction between calendar year and partnership status, model 3.3, relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive, Great Britain

	Full-time			
	Married	**Cohabiting**	**Nev. marr. lone mother**	**Div./wid./sep. lone mother**
1997	1	1	1	1
2000	1.12 **	1.02 n.s.	1.13 n.s.	1.17 n.s.
2004	1.06 n.s.	0.65 ***	1.55 ***	1.27 **
2008	1.00 n.s.	0.75 **	1.57 ***	1.56 ***
	Long part-time			
	Married	**Cohabiting**	**Nev. marr. lone mother**	**Div./wid./sep. lone mother**
1997	1	1	1	1
2000	1.15 ***	1.31 *	1.67 ***	1.20 *
2004	1.15 ***	1.23 n.s.	1.76 ***	1.37 ***
2008	1.02 n.s.	1.13 n.s.	1.90 ***	1.64 ***
	Short part-time			
	Married	**Cohabiting**	**Nev. marr. lone mother**	**Div./wid./sep. lone mother**
1997	1	1	1	1
2000	0.97 n.s.	0.90 n.s.	0.93 n.s.	1.07 n.s.
2004	0.86 ***	0.84 n.s.	0.94 n.s.	0.58 ***
2008	0.68 ***	0.75 n.s.	0.61 **	0.45 ***
	Unemployed			
	Married	**Cohabiting**	**Nev. marr. lone mother**	**Div./wid./sep. lone mother**
1997	1	1	1	1
2000	0.88 n.s.	0.71 n.s.	1.05 n.s.	0.91 n.s.
2004	0.65 ***	0.90 n.s.	0.90 n.s.	0.74 **
2008	0.69 ***	0.75 n.s.	1.25 n.s.	0.96 n.s.

Notes: (I). Sample B: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in Great Britain, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child between the ages 3-17 in the family. (3) Women without information on their employment status are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (5) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (5) Controlled for the category "other education" and missing values in the variables "education" and "ethnicity". (II). Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Own calculations. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01; n.s. not significant.
The results are standardised for the year 1997.

These results suggest that the *Working Families' Tax Credit* and the subsequent *Working Tax Credit* had an effect on lone mothers' employment behaviour in general, and also on the extent of their employment, since the in-work benefit only supports long part-time and full-time employment. No equivalent increase over time can be found among married or cohabiting mothers in Britain. For married mothers, we found only a slight increase in the odds of being in full-time employment in the year 2000, and a slight increase in the odds of being in long part-time employment in the years 2000 and 2004. The results for the others years were not significant. The likelihood of being in short part-time employment in the year 2000 was not significant from the year 1997, and it decreased for the subsequent years among British married mothers. The results for British mothers living in a non-marital union were similar to those for married mothers. However, unlike among married mothers, we can see a clear decrease in the odds of being in full-time employment in the years 2004 and 2008 among mothers in non-marital unions. Like for married mothers, there was a slight increase in the odds of being in long part-time employment in the year 2000. For the subsequent years, the results were not significantly different from those of the year 1997. Regarding their short part-time employment behaviour, cohabiting mothers in the years 2000, 2004 and 2008 did not differ significantly from those in the year 1997.

In Germany, the major unemployment benefit II reform took place in 2005, and therefore the reference category has been set to the year 2004. The hypothesis that was put forward for western Germany was that employment activity has increased among women with a partner and lone mothers since the introduction of the new unemployment benefit II system.

In western Germany, the odds of being in all types of employment increased among married mothers after 1996 (model 3.1, Table 29). The strongest increase among married mothers over time can be seen in

the odds of being in short part-time employment. For cohabiting western German mothers, no significant change in the odds of being in employment or unemployment could be observed between 2004 and 2008. I also anticipated that the introduction of unemployment benefit II would increase lone mothers' employment. The findings indicated that they indeed increased their labour market activity significantly. There have, of course, also been other factors apart from the major unemployment benefit reform that could have contributed to this development, such as the improvement in the general labour market situation, which obviously an effect on labour market participation. However, the increase in the odds of being in short part-time employment over time was much stronger among never-married lone mothers than among married mothers, which can be explained by the very high level at which western German married mothers' short part-time employment started. There was also an increase in the odds of being in long part-time as well as full-time employment between 1996 and 2008 among never married. A similar development could be observed among the divorced lone mothers. However, their increase in short part-time employment was not as steep as it was among never-married lone mothers. Among western German cohabiting mothers, the odds of being in all types of employment increased after 1996, but there were no significant changes between 2004 and 2008. Therefore, hypothesis 5b has to be partially rejected. I could not find a significant increase in labour market activity among all partnered women, but only among married mothers in western Germany. Additionally, I also found an increase in lone mothers' employment activity. The general improvement of the labour market situation is likely to have influenced the increase in employment participation, as well.

Table 29: Multinomial logistic regression, interaction between calendar year and partnership status, model 3.1, relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive, western Germany

	Married	Cohabiting	Nev. marr. lone mother	Div./wid./sep. lone mother
Full-time				
1996	0.98 n.s.	0.82 n.s.	0.79 *	0.85 **
2000	1.09 ***	0.95 n.s.	1.02 n.s.	0.95 n.s.
2004	1	1	1	1
2008	1.24 ***	1.13 n.s.	1.37 **	1.14 *
Long part-time				
	Married	**Cohabiting**	**Nev. marr. lone mother**	**Div./wid./sep. lone mother**
1996	0.71 ***	0.60 ***	0.51 ***	0.68 ***
2000	0.90 ***	0.89 n.s.	0.79 n.s.	0.81 ***
2004	1	1	1	1
2008	1.26 ***	1.12 n.s.	1.31 *	1.19 **
Short part-time				
	Married	**Cohabiting**	**Nev. marr. lone mother**	**Div./wid./sep. lone mother**
1996	0.49 ***	0.57 ***	0.39 ***	0.57 ***
2000	0.81 ***	0.80 n.s.	0.80 n.s.	0.72 ***
2004	1	1	1	1
2008	1.41 ***	1.11 n.s.	1.84 ***	1.29 ***
Unemployed				
	Married	**Cohabiting**	**Nev. marr. lone mother**	**Div./wid./sep. lone mother**
1996	0.57 ***	0.50 ***	0.46 ***	0.54 ***
2000	0.62 ***	0.55 ***	0.70 **	0.49 ***
2004	1	1	1	1
2008	0.99 n.s.	0.88 n.s.	1.37 **	1.01 n.s.

(I). Sample B: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence in western Germany, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child between the ages 3-17 in the family. (3) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (5) Controlled for missing values in the variable education. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01; n.s. not significant
The results are standardised for the year 2004.

For eastern Germany, the assumption was that there should have been no substantial change in the employment levels of partnered and lone mothers between 2004 and 2008, since the need to be active in the labour market should not have changed within this time for the different groups of mothers. The results showed that there was an enormous increase in short part-time employment between 1996 and 2004 among all groups of eastern German mothers (model 3.2, Table 30). The increase was strongest among the never-married lone mothers and mothers in non-marital unions. However, there was a significant decrease in short part-time employment among cohabiting and divorced lone mothers between 2004 and 2008, while there was no significant

change among married and never-married lone mothers within this time. In contrast, full-time employment significantly decreased over time among eastern German married and divorced mothers, while there were no significant changes in the odds of being in full-time employment among cohabiting and never-married lone mothers. The hypothesis could therefore only be partially supported. Unlike in western Germany, between 2004 and 2008 no increase in employment was found, but rather a decrease or no change.

Table 30: Multinomial logistic regression, interaction between calendar year and partnership status, model 3.2, relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive, eastern Germany

	Full-time			
	Married	**Cohabiting**	**Nev. marr. lone mother**	**Div./wid./sep. lone mother**
1996	1.37 ***	0.78 n.s.	0.96 n.s.	1.18 n.s.
2000	1.07 n.s.	0.76 n.s.	0.72 n.s.	0.74 n.s.
2004	1	1	1	1
2008	0.81 **	0.96 n.s.	0.91 n.s.	0.58 **
	Long part-time			
	Married	**Cohabiting**	**Nev. marr. lone mother**	**Div./wid./sep. lone mother**
1996	0.80 **	0.29 ***	0.65 n.s.	0.67 n.s.
2000	0.85 n.s.	0.55 n.s.	0.54 *	0.53 **
2004	1	1	1	1
2008	1.06 n.s.	1.05 n.s.	1.29 n.s.	0.91 n.s.
	Short part-time			
	Married	**Cohabiting**	**Nev. marr. lone mother**	**Div./wid./sep. lone mother**
1996	0.33 ***	0.12 ***	0.15 ***	0.29 ***
2000	0.66 ***	0.21 ***	0.43 **	0.39 ***
2004	1	1	1	1
2008	0.96 n.s.	0.56 *	1.04 n.s.	0.61 *
	Unemployed			
	Married	**Cohabiting**	**Nev. marr. lone mother**	**Div./wid./sep. lone mother**
1996	1.11 n.s.	0.72 n.s.	0.66 n.s.	0.77 n.s.
2000	0.94 n.s.	0.66 *	0.50 ***	0.54 ***
2004	1	1	1	1
2008	0.47 ***	0.52 **	0.55 **	0.41 ***

(I). Sample B: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence in eastern Germany, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child between the ages 3-17 in the family. (3) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (5) Controlled for missing values in the variable education. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01; n.s. not significant
The results are standardised for the year 2004.

6.4.4 The role of the partner's characteristics

To investigate the role of the partner's characteristics models, I have limited the investigation to women who were living with a partner. Table 31 (models 4.1a and 4.2a) and Table 32 (model 4.3a) show the general results. In the subsequent tables, the effect of relative education is displayed (Table 33 (model 4.1b and 4.2b) and

Table 34 (model 4.3b)).

First, the results confirmed the results of the general models 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3. In western Germany, married women and those living in non-married unions strongly differed in their labour market behaviour, as cohabiting women were more likely to be in full-time and long part-time employment. They were also more likely to be unemployed than married mothers. In eastern Germany and in Britain, higher odds of being in full-time employment and in unemployment were found among cohabiting mothers. However, the effect was not as strong as in western Germany. Moreover, in contrast to western Germany, eastern German cohabiting mothers were less likely than married women to be in long part-time employment, while in Britain there was no significant difference between these two groups. Regarding short part-time employment, no difference was found between the two groups in both parts of Germany, but reduced odds were found in Great Britain.

Table 31: Multinomial logistic regression with partner's characteristics, models 4.1a (western Germany) and 4.2a (eastern Germany), relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive

	Western Germany (Model 4.1a)								Eastern Germany (Model 4.2a)							
	Full-time		Long p-t		Short p-t		Unempl.		Full-time		Long p-t		Short p-t		Unempl.	
	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.
Calendar year																
1996	0.98	n.s.	0.71	***	0.49	***	0.61	***	1.25	***	0.72	***	0.30	***	1.21	**
2000	1.09	***	0.90	***	0.80	***	0.67	***	1.01	n.s.	0.80	**	0.58	***	0.98	n.s.
2004	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
2008	1.25	***	1.25	***	1.39	***	1.06	n.s.	0.82	**	1.04	n.s.	0.87	n.s.	0.53	***
Partnership status																
married	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
cohabiting	4.23	***	2.32	***	0.92	n.s.	3.10	***	1.35	***	0.83	*	1.07	n.s.	1.59	***
Woman's age																
18-25 years	0.85	*	0.56	***	0.81	**	0.90	n.s.	0.36	***	0.36	***	0.33	***	0.52	***
26-30 years	0.94	n.s.	0.78	***	0.91	**	1.03	n.s.	0.76	**	0.67	***	0.81	n.s.	0.89	n.s.
31-35 years	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
36-40 years	0.91	***	1.03	n.s.	0.92	***	0.79	***	0.89	n.s.	0.83	**	0.90	n.s.	0.94	n.s.
41-50 years	0.66	***	0.76	***	0.71	***	0.55	***	0.48	***	0.51	***	0.68	***	0.73	***
Nationality																
German	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
Non-German	0.87	***	0.48	***	0.63	***	1.05	n.s.	0.19	***	0.18	***	0.50	***	0.68	**
Size of place of residence																
<20,000	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
20,000-<500,000	0.87	***	0.87	***	0.88	***	0.99	n.s.	1.00	n.s.	1.04	n.s.	1.01	n.s.	0.94	n.s.
500,000 or more	1.04	n.s.	0.92	***	0.75	***	1.07	n.s.	1.04	n.s.	1.04	n.s.	0.74	*	0.59	***
Number of children																
1 child	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
2 children	0.55	***	0.73	***	1.02	n.s.	0.74	***	0.68	***	0.83	**	0.91	n.s.	0.92	n.s.
3 or more children	0.36	***	0.37	***	0.72	***	0.53	***	0.28	***	0.48	***	0.81	n.s.	0.86	n.s.
Age of youngest child																
3-5 years	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
6-9 years	1.64	***	1.46	***	1.38	***	1.18	***	1.48	***	1.31	***	1.67	***	1.14	n.s.
10-17 years	3.23	***	1.97	***	1.56	***	1.47	***	1.93	***	1.37	***	1.49	***	1.21	*
Woman's education																
No/low education	0.46	***	0.40	***	0.62	***	0.72	***	0.25	***	0.38	***	0.45	***	0.61	***
Medium education	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
High education	3.73	***	2.03	***	1.32	***	1.77	***	2.36	***	1.65	***	1.21	n.s.	0.81	n.s.
Partner's education																
No/low education	1.28	***	0.92	***	0.90	***	1.19	***	1.06	n.s.	0.86	n.s.	1.47	*	1.25	n.s.
Medium education	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
High education	0.65	***	0.75	***	0.76	*	0.75	***	0.90	n.s.	1.00	n.s.	0.67	***	0.53	***
Partner's employment status																
Full-time employed	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
Part-time employed	2.21	***	1.24	***	1.17	**	2.03	***	0.83	n.s.	1.21	n.s.	3.62	***	1.62	**
Unemployed	1.24	***	0.66	***	0.68	***	5.04	***	0.64	***	0.60	***	0.95	n.s.	2.28	***
Inactive	1.17	***	0.48	***	0.39	***	1.18	***	0.33	***	0.21	***	0.33	***	0.43	***
Model summary																
Log likelihood (starting model)			-157,277								-27,460					
Log likelihood (final model)			-147,439								-25,666					
Pseudo R^2			0.063								0.065					
Number of cases			105,693								25,191					

(I). Sample C: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence in eastern and western Germany, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child between the ages 3-17 and a partner in the family. (3) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (5) Controlled for missing values in the variable education. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01; n.s. not significant

Table 32: Multinomial logistic regression with partner's characteristics, model 4.3a (Great Britain), relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive

	Great Britain (Model 4.3a)							
	Full-time		Long p-t		Short p-t		Unempl.	
	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.
Calendar year								
1996	1		1		1		1	
2000	1.10	**	1.12	**	0.93	n.s.	0.84	*
2004	1.02	n.s.	1.15	***	0.84	***	0.76	**
2008	0.99	n.s.	1.02	n.s.	0.68	***	0.73	***
Partnership status								
married	1		1		1		1	
cohabiting	1.28	***	0.97	n.s.	0.73	***	1.50	***
Woman's age								
18-25 years	0.63	***	0.63	***	0.71	**	1.86	***
26-30 years	0.92	n.s.	0.79	***	0.80	***	1.26	*
31-35 years	1		1		1		1	
36-40 years	0.96	n.s.	0.99	n.s.	1.07	n.s.	0.76	**
41-50 years	0.67	***	0.82	***	0.99	n.s.	0.59	***
Ethnicity								
White	1		1		1		1	
Black carribbean, black african or other black	3.31	***	0.91	n.s.	0.60	*	1.70	n.s.
Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese	0.59	***	0.29	***	0.25	***	0.65	***
other	0.92	n.s.	0.38	***	0.44	***	1.08	n.s.
Number of children								
1 child	1		1		1		1	
2 children	0.61	***	0.92	*	1.18	***	0.85	*
3 or more children	0.33	***	0.53	***	0.85	***	0.82	*
Age of youngest child								
3-5 years	1		1		1		1	
6-9 years	2.27	***	1.98	***	1.50	***	1.95	***
10-17 years	4.26	***	2.27	***	1.39	***	1.91	***
Woman's education								
No/low education	0.34	***	0.46	***	0.61	***	0.54	***
Medium education	1		1		1		1	
High education	3.19	***	1.81	***	1.52	***	1.35	**
Partner's education								
No/low education	0.84	***	0.79	***	0.70	***	0.97	n.s.
Medium education	1		1		1		1	
High education	0.67	***	0.73	***	0.79	***	0.87	n.s.
Partner's employment status								
Full-time employed	1		1		1		1	
Part-time employed	0.59	***	0.57	***	0.45	***	1.02	n.s.
Unemployed	0.27	***	0.25	***	0.28	***	1.9	***
Inactive	0.18	***	0.14	***	0.12	***	0.35	***
Model summary								
Log likelihood (starting model)	-45,134							
Log likelihood (final model)	-41,354							
Pseudo R^2	0.084							
Number of cases	31,482							

Notes: (I). Sample B: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in Great Britain, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child between the ages 3-17 and a partner in the family. (3) Women without information on their employment status are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (5) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (5) Controlled for the category "other education" and missing values in the variables "education" and "ethnicity". (II). Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Own calculations. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01; n.s. not significant.

The role of the partner's education and relative education between the partners

The hypothesis that was put forward for the role of the partner's education was that women with highly educated partners would be less

likely to be engaged in the labour market than medium or less educated mothers. This hypothesis could mainly be supported for western Germany. Western German mothers with partners who had a university or college degree were significantly less likely to be in all forms of employment, and also in unemployment, than mothers with medium educated partners. While similar pattern was found in Great Britain, the negative influence of having a highly educated partner on a woman's odds to be unemployed was not significant there. In contrast, the effect was not that clear in eastern Germany. Although having a highly educated partner decreased the odds of being in short part-time employment or in unemployment, it did not have an influence on the odds of being in full-time or long part-time employment in this part of the country. The influence of having a less educated partner also differed between Great Britain, eastern and western Germany. In Britain, women with a less educated partner were significantly less likely in full-time, long or short part-time employment than those with a medium educated partner, while in western Germany we found a positive effect of a partner's low education on mothers' full-time employment, but a negative effect on long and short part-time employment. In eastern Germany, on the contrary, having a less educated partner had a positive effect on short part-time employment, but no significant effect on other types of mothers' employment. Mothers' unemployment was not significantly influenced by having a less educated partner in Britain or eastern Germany, but it had a positive effect in western Germany.

To investigate the interplay between a woman's and her partner's education, a further model that includes the variable relative education of the partners was estimated (Table 33, Table 34). For both parts of Germany and Great Britain, it supports the hypothesis that was put forward. Women who had less education than their partners were less likely to be active in the labour market. The same was true when both partners had low levels of education. By contrast, higher odds of being

active in the labour market were found for women who were more educated than their male partner, and for highly educated women with partners who also had a university degree, compared to those women with a medium education and a similarly educated partner.

Table 33: Multinomial logistic regression with partner's characteristics, models 4.1b (western Germany) and 4.2b (eastern Germany), relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive

	Western Germany (Model 4.1b)								Eastern Germany (Model 4.2b)							
	Full-time		Long p-t		Short p-t		Unempl.		Full-time		Long p-t		Short p-t		Unempl.	
	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.
Relative education of the partners																
Both no/low education	0.60	***	0.38	***	0.55	***	0.83	***	0.36	***	0.40	***	0.57	**	0.81	n.s.
Both medium education	1		1		1		1		1		1		1		1	
Both high education	2.50	***	1.52	***	1.02	n.s.	1.28	***	1.95	***	1.44	**	0.93	n.s.	0.49	***
Man more highly educated than woman	0.50	***	0.51	***	0.67	***	0.76	***	0.58	***	0.72	***	0.53	***	0.54	***
Woman more highly educated than man	2.04	***	1.25	***	1.08	*	1.65	***	1.96	***	1.57	***	1.27	n.s.	0.96	n.s.
Model summary																
Log likelihood (starting model)	-157,277								-27,460							
Log likelihood (final model)	-147,707								-25,830							
Pseudo R^2	0.061								0.059							
Number of cases	105,693								25,191							

Notes: see Table 31.

Table 34: Multinomial logistic regression with partner's characteristics, model 4.3b (Great Britain), relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive

	Full-time		Long p-t		Short p-t		Unempl.	
	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.	Exp(b)	Sig.
Relative education of the partners								
Both no/low education	0.27	***	0.33	***	0.39	***	0.49	***
Both medium education	1		1		1		1	
Both high education	2.08	***	1.29	***	1.24	***	1.23	n.s.
Man more highly educated than woman	0.50	***	0.61	***	0.71	***	0.71	***
Woman more highly educated than man	2.04	***	1.38	***	1.14	*	1.31	**
Model summary								
Log likelihood (starting model)	-45,134							
Log likelihood (final model)	-41,354							
Pseudo R^2	0.084							
Number of cases	31,482							

Notes: see Table 32

The role of the partner's employment status

The hypotheses that I put forward for the influence of the partner's employment status were different for Great Britain and the two parts of Germany. For Britain, I assumed that the discouraged worker effect dominates; meaning that women with unemployed partners are less

likely to be employed than those with working partners. Meanwhile, for both parts of Germany, my assumption was that the added worker effect dominates.

The results partially support the hypotheses (Table 31, Table 32). In Britain, having an unemployed partner indeed had a negative influence on a woman's likelihood of being in full-time, long or short part-time employment. In eastern Germany, the results were similar to those in Britain, although the effect for short part-time employment was not significant. In western Germany, however, we found support for the hypothesis of the added worker effect, as well as for the discouraged worker effect. The unemployment of the partner had a positive influence on the odds of being in full-time employment among western German mothers, but a negative influence on their long and short part-time employment. In both parts of Germany and in Britain, the unemployment of the male partner increased a woman's odds of also being unemployed, which can likely be explained by the stronger activation rules that were introduced over time.

Having a non-employed, inactive partner decreased employment among eastern German and British mothers. In western Germany, women with inactive partners were more likely to be full-time employed or unemployed than women with full-time employed partners, but they were less likely to be in long or short part-time employment.

Regarding the influence of the extent of the partner's employment, the results strongly differed. While western German mothers with a part-time employed partner were significantly more likely to be active in the labour market in general than mothers with full-time employed partners, the opposite was the case in Great Britain. In eastern Germany, however, the results were mixed. Part-time employment of the partner increased the odds of being in short part-time employment or unemployment, but it did not have a significant influence on women's full-time or long part-time employment.

The role of relative education according to women's partnership status

To investigate how the influence of relative education differs between married and cohabiting mothers, an interaction between these two variables was run. The results clearly showed that in western Germany, women in non-marital unions were more likely to be in full-time or long part-time employment, as well as in unemployment, than married women, regardless of what the constellation of education between the partners was (Table 35). Furthermore, the difference between cohabiting and married mothers increased with the education of the partners. Only in terms of the odds of being in short part-time employment were no significant differences between married and cohabiting western German mothers found. The western German results suggest that social policies that support marriage as an institution are also effective in supporting a rather traditional division of labour.

Table 35: Multinomial logistic regression with partner's characteristics, interaction between relative education and partnership status, model 4.1c (western Germany), relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive

	Full-time				
	Both low education	**Both medium education**	**Both high education**	**Man more highly educated than woman**	**Woman more highly educated than man**
married	1	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	1.87 ***	5.10 ***	6.25 ***	4.67 ***	2.34 ***
	Long part-time				
	Both low education	**Both medium education**	**Both high education**	**Man more highly educated than woman**	**Woman more highly educated than man**
married	1	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	1.24 n.s	2.59 ***	3.51 ***	2.26 ***	1.81 ***
	Short part-time				
	Both low education	**Both medium education**	**Both high education**	**Man more highly educated than woman**	**Woman more highly educated than man**
married	1	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	0.75 n.s.	0.95 n.s.	1.67 n.s.	0.95 n.s.	0.74 n.s.
	Unemployed				
	Both low education	**Both medium education**	**Both high education**	**Man more highly educated than woman**	**Woman more highly educated than man**
married	1	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	2.14 ***	3.02 ***	2.69 **	3.67 ***	2.83 ***

Notes: see Table 31, standardised for the category "married"

In eastern Germany, however, the results are less clear. Among the couples in which both partners had a medium level of education and those in which the man was more highly educated, higher odds could be found of being in full-time employment and in unemployment for cohabiting women compared to married women. All of the other results were not significant, apart from one. Among medium educated women with a medium educated partner, cohabiting women were less likely than married women to work between 16 and 29 hours a week.

Table 36: Multinomial logistic regression with partner's characteristics, interaction between relative education and partnership status, model 4.2c (eastern Germany), relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive

			Full-time		
	Both low education	**Both medium education**	**Both high education**	**Man more highly educated than woman**	**Woman more highly educated than man**
married	1	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	1.18 n.s.	1.25 **	2.53 n.s.	1.70 **	0.96 n.s.
			Long part-time		
	Both low education	**Both medium education**	**Both high education**	**Man more highly educated than woman**	**Woman more highly educated than man**
married	1	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	1.64 n.s.	0.73 **	1.90 n.s.	1.00 n.s.	0.71 n.s.
			Short part-time		
	Both low education	**Both medium education**	**Both high education**	**Man more highly educated than woman**	**Woman more highly educated than man**
married	1	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	1.93 n.s.	1.01 n.s.	0.46 n.s.	1.49 n.s.	0.80 n.s.
			Unemployed		
	Both low education	**Both medium education**	**Both high education**	**Man more highly educated than woman**	**Woman more highly educated than man**
married	1	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	1.53 n.s.	1.55 ***	2.07 n.s.	2.17 ***	0.90 n.s.

Notes: see Table 31, standardised for the category "married"

The eastern German results suggest that the financial support of marriage by the state depends on economic circumstances.

In Britain, among the highly educated women with a similarly educated partner, cohabiting women were more likely than married women to be in full-time or long part-time employment. Among those with a medium education and a medium educated partner, however, mothers in non-marital unions were less likely to be in long or short part-time

employment. If the man was more highly educated than his female partner, cohabiting women were more likely to be full-time employed or unemployed than married women, while their odds of being in short part-time employment were reduced compared to their married counterparts.

Table 37: Multinomial logistic regression with partner's characteristics, interaction between relative education and partnership status, model 4.3c (Great Britain), relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive

	Full-time				
	Both low education	**Both medium education**	**Both high education**	**Man more highly educated than woman**	**Woman more highly educated than man**
married	1	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	0.95 n.s.	1.14 n.s.	4.50 ***	1.38 ***	1.08 n.s.
	Long part-time				
	Both low education	**Both medium education**	**Both high education**	**Man more highly educated than woman**	**Woman more highly educated than man**
married	1	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	1.04 n.s.	0.83 *	2.70 **	1.06 n.s.	0.92 n.s.
	Short part-time				
	Both low education	**Both medium education**	**Both high education**	**Man more highly educated than woman**	**Woman more highly educated than man**
married	1	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	0.68 *	0.63 ***	1.82 n.s.	0.69 *	0.80 n.s.
	Unemployed				
	Both low education	**Both medium education**	**Both high education**	**Man more highly educated than woman**	**Woman more highly educated than man**
married	1	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	1.44 n.s.	1.30 n.s.	2.56 n.s.	1.68 **	1.50 n.s.

Notes: see Table 32, standardised for the category "married"

The role of the partner's employment status according to women's partnership status

The effects of the partner's employment status, were expected to differ between married and cohabiting mothers in both parts of Germany and Britain.

As in the results for relative education, significant differences between cohabiting and married women were found in western Germany depending on the partner's employment status (Table 38). As has already been outlined. cohabiting women were more likely to be active in the labour in general in western Germany. The difference was most pronounced among women with a full-time employed partner. How-

ever, married women and those in non-marital unions did not differ in their short part-time employment, regardless of whether their male partner was employed.

Table 38: Multinomial logistic regression with partner's characteristics, interaction between employment status of the partner and partnership status, model 4.1d (western Germany), relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive

	Full-time			
	Partner full-time	**Partner part-time**	**Partner unemployed**	**Partner inactive**
married	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	5.07 ***	1.45 n.s.	2.09 ***	1.52 **
	Long part-time			
	Partner full-time	**Partner part-time**	**Partner unemployed**	**Partner inactive**
married	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	2.51 ***	2.41 ***	1.69 ***	1.66 **
	Short part-time			
	Partner full-time	**Partner part-time**	**Partner unemployed**	**Partner inactive**
married	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	0.97 n.s.	1.15 n.s.	0.93 n.s.	0.79 n.s.
	Unemployed			
	Partner full-time	**Partner part-time**	**Partner unemployed**	**Partner inactive**
married	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	3.54 ***	3.96 ***	1.69 ***	1.67 *

Notes: see Table 31, standardised for the category "married"

In eastern Germany (Table 39), almost no significant differences were found between married and cohabiting women in marriages and those in cohabitations in terms of the effects of their partner's employment status. Only among women with full-time employed partners were cohabiting women found to be more likely to be full-time employed and unemployed than married women. However, the difference between the two groups was not as high as it was in western Germany.

In Great Britain (Table 40), an effect similar to that in eastern Germany was found among the women with a full-time employed partner. Within this group, the cohabiting mothers were more likely to be full-time employed or unemployed than married women with children. However, within this group, mothers in non-marital unions were also less likely to be short part-time employed than their married counterparts. Among the British mothers with part-time employed partners,

higher odds of being in full-time employment and in unemployment were found among the cohabiting women. Cohabiting women with unemployed or inactive partners were less likely to be short part-time employed than married women with non-working husbands.

Table 39: Multinomial logistic regression with partner's characteristics, interaction between employment status of the partner and partnership status, model 4.2d (eastern Germany), relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive

	Full-time			
	Partner full-time	**Partner part-time**	**Partner unemployed**	**Partner inactive**
married	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	1.53 ***	1.30 n.s.	0.79 n.s.	1.10 n.s.
	Long part-time			
	Partner full-time	**Partner part-time**	**Partner unemployed**	**Partner inactive**
married	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	0.87 n.s.	1.53 n.s.	0.80 n.s.	0.73 n.s.
	Short part-time			
	Partner full-time	**Partner part-time**	**Partner unemployed**	**Partner inactive**
married	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	1.03 n.s.	1.85 n.s.	1.00 n.s.	1.35 n.s.
	Unemployed			
	Partner full-time	**Partner part-time**	**Partner unemployed**	**Partner inactive**
married	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	1.80 ***	1.70 n.s.	1.01 n.s.	1.33 n.s.

Notes: see Table 31, standardised for the category "married"

Table 40: Multinomial logistic regression with partner's characteristics, interaction between employment status of the partner and partnership status, model 4.3d (Great Britain), relative risk ratios, dependent variable: employment status, reference category: inactive

	Full-time			
	Partner full-time	**Partner part-time**	**Partner unemployed**	**Partner inactive**
married	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	1.36 ***	1.57 *	0.70 n.s.	0.94 n.s.
	Long part-time			
	Partner full-time	**Partner part-time**	**Partner unemployed**	**Partner inactive**
married	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	0.99 n.s.	0.98 n.s.	0.88 n.s.	1.22 n.s.
	Short part-time			
	Partner full-time	**Partner part-time**	**Partner unemployed**	**Partner inactive**
married	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	0.76 ***	1.57 n.s.	0.54 **	0.35 ***
	Unemployed			
	Partner full-time	**Partner part-time**	**Partner unemployed**	**Partner inactive**
married	1	1	1	1
cohabiting	1.47 ***	2.42 **	1.09 n.s.	2.32 ***

Notes: see Table 32, standardised for the category "married"

6.5 Determinants of maternal employment – summary

The aim of this chapter was to analyse the determinants of maternal employment in Great Britain and in the two parts of Germany during the period of the late 1990s and the late 2000s. My goal was to examine the role of social policy reforms in mothers' employment behaviour. The larger research framework of this investigation was to understand how familialising and defamilialising policies influence maternal employment behaviour in general, and specific groups of mothers in particular. The analyses focused on three main determinants of maternal employment: (a) education, (b) partnership status and (c) the partner's education and employment characteristics. In order to depict policy changes, changes in behaviour before and after major policy reforms—the introduction of stronger activation policies with the Hartz IV reform in Germany, and the reform of the in-work benefit system and stronger activation policies for the non-employed in Britain—were compared. This analysis went beyond prior research on this topic, as it used a finer differentiation of the dependent variable, the employment status, and because it categorised the partnership status in more detail than other studies.

The multivariate analysis confirmed prior descriptive results (see chapter 5) showing that education and children's characteristics, such as the number of children and the age of the youngest child, clearly determine women's participation in the labour market in general, and also the extent of their employment.

Regarding the change in maternal labour market participation over time, the results showed different patterns in the two parts of Germany and in Great Britain. In western Germany, the odds of being in employment increased after 1996, but the increase was most pronounced for part-time employment. In eastern Germany, the decline in full-time employment dominates the picture. The analyses also showed

that eastern German mothers experienced a strong increase in long and short part-time employment. In Britain, there was an increase in full-time and long part-time employment among mothers, while the odds of being in short part-time employment decreased. Changes in British mothers' employment behaviour can be explained by the introduction of the new in-work benefit Working Families' Tax Credit. Low-income people could only receive this in-work benefit if they worked at least 16 hours per week. In addition, the strong increase in the odds of being on parental/maternity leave in Britain reflected the extension of the duration of leave for mothers since the late 1990s.

Apart from the variable calendar year, partnership status and education were the two other key variables in the analysis on the determinants of maternal employment. The results for education supported the hypothesis that was put forward: there was an educational gradient of being active in the labour market. The higher her educational level, the more likely a woman was to be active in the labour market.

Regarding the partnership status, the hypotheses that were put forward strongly differed for the two parts of Germany and Britain. For western Germany, I argued that married mothers are those who are the least active group in the labour market compared to cohabiting and lone mothers, because western German social policy setting and its interplay with rather conservative attitudes towards the employment of mothers deter married women with children from participation in the labour market. This hypothesis was confirmed. For eastern Germany and Britain, I put forward a different assumption. I expected to find no differences between married and cohabiting mothers in the eastern part of Germany and Britain, and anticipated that these two groups would be more likely to be in employment than lone mothers, because of the direct and indirect resources that a partnership entails in terms of help with childcare and the financial means to obtain childcare services. However, the evidence for eastern Germany and Britain was mixed. Unlike in western Germany, the results indeed showed that

British and eastern German married mothers were more likely to be in employment than lone mothers. However, contrary to the assumption that there would be no differences between cohabiting and married mothers, the first model (that did not include all covariates) showed that cohabiting mothers were less likely to be in employment than mothers in non-marital unions in Britain and eastern Germany. After controlling for major socio-demographic characteristics (like age of the youngest child and education), the difference in behaviour between married and cohabiting mothers became smaller or even diminished in both eastern Germany and Britain. In fact, cohabiting mothers were slightly more likely to be working full-time than married mothers. This suggests that composition effects are important in explaining differences in behaviour between married and unmarried women in Britain and eastern Germany. Compared to western Germany, however, the differences in the odds of being in employment between cohabiting and married mothers were smaller in eastern Germany and Britain. For eastern Germany, this can be explained by the labour market situation: in addition to being more difficult in general, men's position in the labour market tends to be more insecure, and the average wage level is lower than in western Germany. Despite the support that is provided for marriages in Germany, these factors make the male breadwinner model less attractive for married couples in eastern Germany, as it is associated with more risks than in western Germany.

When comparing British lone and married mothers, I found that controlling for socio-demographic characteristics only slightly weakened the difference between them. In Great Britain, married couples do not enjoy the same support as in Germany, and welfare benefits in case of unemployment are rather low, which makes women's non-employment rather risky. In addition, the welfare benefit system strongly discourages lone mothers from working. Thus, lone mothers' lower odds of being in employment compared to married mothers are most likely a result of the interplay between the benefit system, rela-

tively high childcare prices and a weak direct support of married couples in Britain.

In eastern Germany, however, the difference in the odds of being in full-time and long part-time employment between lone and married mothers became slightly smaller after controlling for socio-demographic characteristics. The difference in the chances of being in short part-time employment even diminished. Unlike in Britain, eastern German lone mothers' lower labour market participation is partly attributable to compositional factors, such as a lower age of the mother and her children, as well as a lower level of education.

I further put forward the hypothesis that the effect of the partnership status would vary according to a woman's education, since the social policy incentives and disincentives to become engaged in the labour market work differently among the educational groups. For western Germany, the assumption was that the difference between married mothers and lone and cohabiting mothers would increase with education due to the higher opportunity costs and lower rewards of non-employment that highly educated cohabiting and lone mothers have compared to less educated cohabiting and lone mothers. The hypothesis could mainly be supported by the results for full-time and long part-time employment. However, for short part-time employment no increasing difference with education could be found. The smaller differences among less educated western German mothers point to the lower employment opportunities that less qualified mothers are affected by equally. The results also suggest that the male breadwinner model is suitable only for married couples who can afford it, and that this is more likely to be the case among highly educated married women, a large proportion of whom have highly educated husbands.

For eastern Germany, the results partly supported the hypothesis that the lower employment participation of lone mothers would be less pronounced among highly educated mothers which suggests that the

reason for the initial negative effect of lone motherhood is due to composition effects. However, in contrast to the hypothesis, less educated women in eastern Germany who were cohabiting or lone mothers were not found to differ significantly from their married counterparts in terms of their full-time and short part-time employment behaviour. The only difference was that less educated lone mothers were less likely to be in long part-time employment than less educated married mothers. The results may, like in western Germany, point to the low labour market chances of less educated women that affect all mothers in this group negatively, regardless of their partnership status.

In Britain the differences between lone and married mothers decreased with education, but they still existed, which suggests that even having a higher education cannot outweigh the disincentives to work for lone mothers that were established by the British benefit system. Among the highly educated British women, cohabiting mothers were more likely to be in full-time and long part-time employment, while among the less and medium educated mothers, there were no differences, or they were less likely to be in employment than their married counterparts. This supports the previously discussed findings on the compositional effects of married and cohabiting mothers.

For Britain, the results of the analyses clearly showed that lone mothers' employment significantly increased after the New Labour government introduced welfare-to-work policies which specifically targeted lone mothers. Among British lone mothers, rates of full-time and long part-time employment increased but not of short part-time employment, which is attributable to the fact that employment of at least 16 hours was supported by the in-work benefit.

For Germany, the aim was to analyse whether the new unemployment benefit II system that was introduced in 2005 had an influence on labour market participation among mothers. A significant increase in never-married lone mothers' labour market participation between

2004 and 2008 in western Germany could be observed, while no change could be found in eastern Germany. This supports the findings of previous studies which showed that activation rules have been more strictly enforced among lone mothers under the new unemployment benefit II system than in the previous social assistance system. The results did not show a significant increase by 2008 in employment or unemployment among western German cohabiting women; however, an increase in employment, but not in unemployment, was found among the married women in western Germany. This suggests that indeed lone mothers might be more strongly activated than partnered mothers in the new system, which has already been found by previous studies (Zabel 2011).

I further investigated the role of the partner's characteristics among married women and those in non-marital unions. The results showed that the partner's education had a significant effect on a woman's labour market participation in western Germany and Britain. The higher a woman's partner was educated, the lower her labour market participation was. However, in in eastern Germany the results were not as straightforward as they were in western Germany and Great Britain. Among eastern German mothers with a partner, no significant effects of the partner's education were found on full-time and long part-time employment, although effects were shown on short part-time employment and partly on unemployment. An investigation of the effects of the relative level of education between the woman and her partner for a woman's labour market participation indeed showed greater labour market participation among highly educated women with a highly educated partner and among those who were more highly educated than their male partners. In contrast, women who were less qualified than their male partners were less likely to be active in the labour market. However, the findings also indicated that there were strong differences between married and cohabiting women in western Germany, with cohabiting women being more likely to work than married

women, regardless of the relative education. This again suggests that social policies which support marriage and the rather traditional attitudes towards maternal employment are quite effective in western Germany. In eastern Germany, the results were not as clear as they were in the western part of the country. Mothers in non-marital unions were more likely to be in full-time employment and in unemployment only among the medium educated couples and among those with a more highly educated male partner. However, medium educated cohabiting women with medium educated partners were less likely to be in long part-time employment. The eastern German results suggest that in this part of the country, the social policies that are designed to support marriage are not as effective as they are in western Germany. The possible reasons for this have already been mentioned: eastern Germany has a more difficult labour market than western Germany for both women and men, with a higher risk of unemployment and lower wages. These uncertainties can make a one earner model or a two and a half earner model rather risky, and thus unattractive for married couples. In addition, attitudes towards the employment of mothers are more liberal than in western Germany, which creates a more positive setting for maternal employment.

In addition to the partner's education and the relative education, I investigated the effect of the partner's employment status on mothers' labour market participation. The hypotheses that were put forward were different for Britain and the two parts of Germany due to the different designs of the unemployment benefit systems. For Britain, the assumption was that women with an unemployed partner would be less likely to be in employment than women with an employed partner; while for both parts of Germany it was expected that the added worker effect would dominate, meaning that women with an unemployed partner would be more likely to be in employment than those with a working partner. The hypotheses were partially supported by the results. In Britain, maternal employment was indeed lower among

those with an unemployed partner than among those with a working partner. Contrary to the hypothesis, the results for eastern Germany were similar to those in Britain, while for western Germany partial support was found for the added worker effect, as women with an unemployed partner were more likely to work full-time than those with a partner in full-time work. The British results can be explained by the negative influence of the unemployment benefit system. However, since in the two parts of Germany the same benefit system applies, these benefits cannot be the reason for the different results in eastern and western Germany. The negative influence of an unemployed partner on eastern German mothers' employment participation is likely to be explained by the more difficult labour market situation in eastern Germany in general, which makes it harder for an eastern German woman to find a job after her partner becomes unemployed, whereas in western Germany this might be easier due to a more favourable labour market situation with much lower unemployment rates.

7 The determinants of fathers' use of parental leave in Germany

This chapter investigates fathers' use of parental leave in the German context[39]. The aim is to examine to what extent the German regulations on parental leave and parental leave benefit enabled men to decide to leave the workplace temporarily in order to care for their children. I am particularly interested in the role of education and the relative education of both partners, as well as of workplace characteristics on men's leave-taking behaviour. In exploring the role of the major policy change that took place with the introduction of an income-related parental leave benefit in 2007, I will focus in this chapter on how this benefit changed men's behaviour in general, and, specifically, the extent to which its use was influenced by education, relative education and workplace characteristics.

First, I will present previous research on the determinants of fathers' use of parental leave from the Scandinavian countries, where most of these studies were conducted, as well as findings from Germany. I will then explain how I selected the sample from the German micro-census for the analyses and describe the variables. This is followed by a presentation of the descriptive and the multivariate results. The chapter closes with a summary of the findings.

7.1 Previous research on the determinants of fathers' leave-taking behaviour

Most of the studies that have investigated the use of parental leave among fathers were conducted for the Nordic countries (Bygren and

[39] I decided to focus on Germany only because of data limitations. Since the British Labour Force Survey only represents 0.1% of the British population, the case numbers of fathers on parental or on paternity leave were too small to analyse in a meaningful manner. In addition, fathers' use of leave is even lower among British than among German men.

Duvander 2006; Duvander, Duvander and Jans 2008; Duvander and Johansson 2010; Lammi-Taskula 2008; Lappegård 2008; Lappegård and Andersson 2010; Sundström and Duvander 2002). They have shown that the introduction of the paternity quota in Sweden (the so-called "daddy months") had a positive effect on men's use of parental leave, although fathers still use shorter periods of leave than mothers (Björnberg 2002; Sundström and Duvander 2002). However, Duvander and Johansson (2010) who investigated fathers' use of leave after the three reforms that promoted a more gender-egalitarian use of leave in Sweden (the first and the second "daddy month" and the gender equality bonus) found that the introduction of the first "daddy month" had the most important effect on fathers' use of leave, while they did not find an effect of the gender equality bonus, probably because of the complicated system behind it.

Regarding the effect of education, these studies mainly found a positive effect. Investigating Norwegian fathers' behavior, Lappegård (2008) found a positive effect of fathers' as well as of mothers' education on men's use of parental leave. Using a Swedish survey conducted in 1986, Näsman (1992) found that fathers who used at least one month of leave had significantly more education that fathers who did not take any leave. While Sundström and Duvander (2002) reported similar findings in their model the impact of male education on men's parental leave use was only positive after controlling for earnings. Duvander and Johansson (2010) showed that fathers' tertiary education had a positive effect on their use of leave after the first reserved month was introduced. The same applied to the recently introduced gender equality bonus, but not to the second reserved month. Mothers' education had a positive effect on fathers' use of leave after all three reforms.

Investigating a sample of Finnish fathers who took at least some leave, Lammi-Taskula (2008) investigated the take-up of long parental leave, and did not find a significant effect of relative education. However,

she found that the mother's socio-economic characteristics are more important than the father's. According to her study, the female partner's occupational position has a positive effect on fathers' leave-taking but there is no effect of the father's occupational status. Introducing variables that reflect the gender ideology of the father she found that a gender-egalitarian ideology has a strong positive impact on fathers' use of leave.

Additionally, workplace characteristics have been found to influence fathers leave-taking behaviour (Bygren and Duvander 2006; Haas, Allard and Hwang 2002; Näsman 1992). Bygren and Duvander (2006) showed that fathers who work in the private sector, at small workplaces and in male-dominated workplaces are less likely to use parental leave. Haas, Allard and Hwang (2002) did not find a significant effect of the father's or the mother's education on the father's leave-taking behaviour. They argued that the organisational culture of the company for which the man works and the mother's attitude towards the sharing of leave were more important than education. Näsman (1992) showed that fathers who used parental leave were significantly more often employed in the public sector.

For Germany there are only a few studies that have investigated the topic of fathers and parental leave. Before the implementation of the new parental leave benefit, there were mainly studies on men's attitudes towards the use of parental leave (Vaskovics and Rost 1999; Beckmann 2001; Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach 2005). All of these studies found that worries about the loss of income and career disadvantages were the main barriers to men's willingness to use leave.

For the time period before the parental leave benefit reform, Geisler and Kreyenfeld (2011) showed that a father's own education did not have a significant influence on his leave-taking behaviour but that relative education had an important impact on a man's decision to use

leave. Most of the fathers who used parental leave in that period had a lower educational level than their female partner, while men who were more educated than their partner were less likely to take leave. Workplace characteristics had an influence, too. Fathers who worked in the public sector had higher chances of being on parental leave than men who worked in the private sector, while men with a temporary contract and self-employed men were less likely to use parental leave than men with a permanent contract.

With the implementation of the parental leave benefit reform, the topic has become more interesting to researchers. A few recent German studies have investigated the use of leave among fathers under the new law. A study commissioned by the family ministry (Rheinisch-Westfälisches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung 2008) investigated the determinants of fathers' use of the parental leave benefit after the parental leave reform. They found positive effects of father's education and age, as well as of mother's employment before childbirth. However, as the authors themselves stated, the drawback of the study is that the data on men were less reliable, since for a considerable share of the male partners (23%) data on their employment status before the birth were not available.

Trappe (2013) used the same data as the Rheinisch-Westfälisches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (2008), and, in a second step, register data from two northern German federal states (Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern). She found that the economic resources of both partners played a major role in fathers' use of the parental leave benefit. For example, she found a positive effect for highly educated men with a highly educated female partner and for fathers who had a higher level of education than their partner compared to medium educated men with an equally educated partner. In addition, she showed that the age of the man, the couple's employment pattern and the relative income of the partners before the birth of the child were also other major determinants.

The study by Pfahl and Reuyß (2009) showed similar results. Based on a non-representative online-survey of fathers who received parental leave benefits according to the new benefit scheme starting in 2007, they found that most of these fathers were highly educated, had a high occupational status had an employed female partner. The study also showed that workplace characteristics played an important role. A large share of the fathers in the survey were employed in the public sector in firms with a work council. However, the authors did not compare the periods before and after the introduction of the parental leave benefit reform.

Using data from a German non-representative online-survey, Vogt and Pull (2010) found that men with a higher income and a higher education than their partner were less likely to use parental leave. Modern gender role attitudes positively influence fathers' leave-taking behaviour. Furthermore, the authors showed that men's chances of using leave significantly increased in 2007.

Reich (2011) also used data from the German microcensus for the years 2007 and 2008 to investigate the determinants of fathers' take-up of parental leave after the reform of the parental leave benefit scheme. She found a positive effect for highly educated men, but no significant effect for the relative education of the partners. Furthermore, she also found that men's workplace characteristics - such as the type of contract, the type of sector and the firm size - had important effects on fathers' take-up of leave. However, the limitation of this study is that it only considered the period after the reform, which did not allow for the change in effects over time.

7.2 Hypotheses

Regarding the hypotheses on fathers' take-up of leave in Germany, I assume that men's education, as well as the relative education of the fathers and his female partner, influence the use of parental leave. Fur-

thermore, I assume that workplace security has a major influence on men's decision to take parental leave.

The role of men's education and the relative education of the partners

Value change theory suggests that post-materialistic values, including gender-egalitarian values, are linked to higher education. Although the results in section 3.6 of this work did not fully support this hypothesis, there are other studies which have shown that having a high level of education is associated with more liberal attitudes towards the gender division of labour among men (Bauernschuster and Rainer 2012; Hofäcker 2007; Hofferth, Pleck, Goldscheider et al. 2013). If it is assumed that highly educated fathers have more gender-egalitarian attitudes, they should be more interested in shared childrearing with their partner than fathers with a lower level of education. This has also been shown by some studies (Craig 2006; Hofferth, Pleck, Goldscheider et al. 2013; Sayer, Gauthier and Furstenberg 2004).

Therefore I expect to find that highly educated fathers will be more likely to take parental leave than fathers with a lower level of education (Hypothesis 1a).

However, from an economic perspective highly educated fathers also have high opportunity costs of leaving the labour market due to foregone income, a devaluation of their human capital and the possibility that they will miss career opportunities during the time they are away from the labour market.

Therefore, the contrasting hypothesis is that men with a high level high education will be less likely to take leave than less educated fathers due to their high opportunity costs (Hypothesis 1b).

The bargaining approaches suggest that the relative resources within a couple play an important role in employment and caring decisions. It

is assumed that the partner with the higher earnings capacity has more bargaining power in negotiations about employment versus housework and caring responsibilities. It is further assumed that people try to avoid housework and caring activities, and that they will use their higher human capital in the bargaining process to become the one who is active in the labour market, while the partner with less human capital will take on the caring and housework duties.

Following the relative resources approach, I assume that men who are more educated than their female partner are less likely to take parental leave, while men with less education than their partner are more likely to take parental leave (Hypothesis 2).

The role of workplace characteristics

The economic costs of using parental leave be determined not only by a man's education and his education relative to his female partner, but also by the conditions of his employment contract and the characteristics of his workplace (Bygren and Duvander 2006). It has been argued that since the public sector is not profit-oriented, it should be easier for men employed in this sector to use leave than those who work in private companies. In addition, a permanent employment contract provides higher security in terms of a right to return to the workplace, while a temporary employment contract might expire and not be continued by the employer if a man shows that he is family- and care-oriented. This might especially be the case in the German setting, where fathers' use of parental leave was not very common until 2006. This leads to the following hypotheses:

Fathers who are employed in the public sector are more likely to use parental leave than men who work in the private sector (Hypothesis 3).

Working under a temporary contract has a negative influence on men's use of leave compared having a permanent contract (Hypothe-

sis 4).

The role of the parental leave benefit reform

While until 2006 the parental leave benefit was paid as a low flat rate benefit of €300 per month for a maximum of two years or €450 for a maximum of one year, in 2007 the German government introduced an income-related benefit that grants parents 67% of their previous net income for a maximum of 14 months. In addition, two of these 14 months are reserved for each partner. If only one partner uses parental leave the couple is entitled to the benefit for only 12 months. Following the Scandinavian parental leave scheme, these two "daddy months" were introduced to encourage men to take leave. While the main reason the proportion of men among the parents who took leave was so low until 2006 was seen in the low benefit that was in effect until then, since 2007 the opportunity costs of using parental leave have been lower, as the parental leave benefit now replaces two-thirds of the previous income during the leave.

In general, I expect to find that fathers will be more likely to be on leave in the period 2007 to 2008 than in the period before the parental leave benefit reform (1999-2006) (Hypothesis 5).

Since the reform has lowered their opportunity costs by granting them an income-related benefit, I assume that particularly highly educated fathers will more likely to act in accordance with their more gender-egalitarian attitudes and will therefore be more likely to use parental leave in the period after the reform than before, compared to less educated men. (Hypothesis 6).

As has already been pointed out, before the parental leave benefit reform the opportunity costs of using leave were particularly high for highly educated men and those who were more educated than their female partner.

Since the income-related benefit represents a more adequate income replacement for the more highly educated men than before the reform, I assume that the influence of the relative resources was stronger in the period 1999-2006, and that it weakened in the period 2007-2008 (Hypothesis 7).

I also expect to find fathers with less stable and less protected employment conditions (temporary contracts, self-employment) and those working in the private sector will be more likely to use leave after the reform than before, since the opportunity costs of taking the leave have been lowered (Hypothesis 8).

7.3 Data, sample, variables and method

Data and sample

To analyse the determinants of fathers' use of leave in Germany I used data from the German microcensus of the years 1999 to 2008. I restricted the sample to men between the ages of 18 to 50 who were living with at least one child in the family. Since parents are allowed to use parental leave up to a child's third birthday, I further limited the sample to fathers whose youngest child was under age three. The German microcensus does not provide detailed information on the employment histories of the respondents. Therefore, I had to exclude unemployed and inactive men, since I could not know whether they were employed at the time of the birth of their children, and thus had an entitlement to parental leave. I excluded the small number of single fathers (0.3%) and fathers living in same-sex unions (less than 0.1%). I could not identify whether the men in the sample were the biological fathers of their children, which means that I were also investigating stepfathers, who were only entitled to parental leave until the year 2000 if they were married to the mother of the child.

The microcensus is a rotating panel in which one-quarter of the sample is replaced every year. This means that respondents are inter-

viewed for four subsequent years. For the analysis, this means that some individuals might be in the study several times. However, since it was not possible to identify these persons, I could not account for this. To check the robustness of the results, I conducted a sensitivity analysis in which I used only the survey years that were four years apart from each other.

Method and dependent variable

A binary logistic regression was used to analyse whether a father was on parental leave at the time of the interview (Hosmer, Lemeshow and Sturdivant 2013). In the questionnaire, all of the respondents who had an employment contract or who were self-employed were are asked about their usual working hours and their working hours in the reference week. If a respondent indicated that he worked reduced hours in the reference week, he was asked to cite the reason, with one option being parental leave. Between 2002 and 2007, a distinction was made between parental leave of up to three months and of more than three months. This distinction was not, however, used for this analysis, due to the limited availability. The analyses were conducted with SPSS 15.0.

Covariates

The central independent variables in this analysis are *education* and the *relative education* of the partners. For education I distinguish between men without a degree, men with a vocational degree and men with a university degree. For the variable relative education I distinguished between men who were living in partnerships in which neither partner had a degree, both had a vocational degree, both had a university degree, the man had more education than his female partner, and the man had less education than his female partner.

It would have been desirable to have used earnings as a direct indicator of the relative resources of each partner. However, it was not possible to use this variable since it includes various problems. First, only net incomes are available in the microcensus, which is problematic in the German context, because the net income is dependent on an individual's marital status due to the income splitting. Depending on the tax group (information that is not available), the net income varies; therefore, it was not possible to draw conclusions about the gross income. Another problem was that the net incomes are only available in income classes, which also change over time. Finally, the income refers to the time of the interview, which means that for fathers on parental leave I would not have information about their usual income, since their only income would have been the parental leave benefit.

I was also interested in the question of how workplace characteristics influence men's decision to use parental leave. I used the *type of contract* and distinguished between fathers with a temporary or a permanent contract, and between those who were self-employed or helping family-members. In addition, I included the *type of sector* (public or private sector) in the model.

I controlled for individual characteristics such as *age* (18-25 years, 26-30 years, 31-35 years, 36-40 years, 41-50 years), *region* (eastern or western Germany), *nationality* (German or non-German) and the *size of the place of residence* (fathers living in communities with less than 20,000 inhabitants, 20,000 to 499,999 inhabitants, or 500,000 or more inhabitants). I controlled for whether a man was married or was living in a non-marital union. Moreover, I controled for the *child's characteristics*. I distinguished between fathers with only one child, two children and three or more children under age six. Previous research from the Scandinavian countries has shown that the birth order of the child has a significant negative effect on fathers' use of leave (Lappegård 2008; Sundström and Duvander 2002). In addition, I controlled for the *age of the youngest child* (under one year, one year, two

years). A further variable controlled for the *sex of the youngest child* (one girl, one boy, multiples). In addition to the relative education I also included the *relative age of the partners*: I distinguish between men with a partner of the same age (0-1 years younger or older), and men whose partner was 2-6 years younger, seven or more years years younger, 2-6 years older or seven or more years older. To investigate how fathers' leave-taking behaviour has changed according to the policy reforms I included the time periods 1999-2000, 2001-2003, 2004-2006, 2007-2008 in the models. An overview of the variables and their distribution by the time periods that were used in the models can be found in the Appendix (Table A 10).

7.4 Results

7.4.1 Descriptive results

The descriptive results showed that the proportion of fathers who used parental leave was quite small overall in the period I observed (Table 41). The average share of fathers on leave was 0.6% between 1999 and 2008. However, there was a slight increase of fathers on leave, particularly in 2007 and 2008 after the new income-related parental leave benefit had been introduced. In 2008, 1.4% of the fathers in the sample were on parental leave. This proportion was much lower than the official statistics on the use of parental leave benefit which can be explained by the fact that the duration of leave was quite short among fathers[40]. Thus, the probability that a father would be on leave at the time of interview was lower than if the leave had been longer.[41]

Although the data also allowed me to differentiate between fathers who used up to three months of leave versus men who used more than

[40] The average duration of parental benefit use is 3.4 months (Wrohlich et al. 2012: 64).
[41] Wrohlich et al. (2012: 65) made a similar observation in an analysis of the GSOEP and FID-data.

three months of leave between the years 2002 and 2007, because the number of cases was quite small I do not show these percentages. In general, there has been an increase in the number of fathers who took only a short period of leave.

Table 41: Number of fathers in the sample, number of those on leave and not on leave, percentage of fathers on leave, 1999-2008

Year	All fathers in sample	Not on leave (n)	On leave (n)	% on leave
1999	10,209	10,163	46	0.5
2000	10,268	10,222	46	0.4
2001	9,919	9,874	45	0.5
2002	9,732	9,677	55	0.6
2003	9,102	9,057	45	0.5
2004	8,670	8,626	44	0.5
2005	8,019	7,970	49	0.6
2006	8,463	8,413	50	0.6
2007	8,305	8,236	69	0.8
2008	8,425	8,309	116	1.4
Total	91,112	90,547	565	0.6

Source: SUFs of the German microcensus 1999-2008.
Notes: The sample consists of fathers who are head or partner of the head of a family, who are between age 18 and 50 and who live with at least one child below age three and a partner between age 18 and 50 in the family. Fathers in same-sex partnerships, single fathers as well as unemployed and inactive fathers are excluded.

The descriptive results of our central variables, education and relative education, as well as the workplace characteristics, the type of contract and the type of sector and the period grouping that is used in the multivariate model are displayed in Table 42.

It could be observed that the take-up of parental leave was increasing slightly over time with a considerable increase in the period 2007-2008. Regarding education the results indicated that the proportions of fathers on leave increased with education. While 0.5% of fathers without a degree used parental leave, the share was 0.8% among fathers with a university degree. For the relative education, I found that the proportion was highest among men who had a university degree and whose partner had the same level of education (1.1% of fathers on leave) as well as among fathers who had a lower degree than their partner (1.4% of fathers on leave). The share of leave users was particularly low among men without a degree whose partner had the same

level of education (0.2%) and among fathers who were more educated than their partner (0.3%). Furthermore, the proportion of men on parental leave was lower among fathers with a temporary contract and among self-employed men (each with 0.4%) than among fathers with a permanent contract (0.7%). There was a higher share of men on leave among those working in the public sector (1%) than among those working in the private sector (0.6%). All results were significant.

Table 42: Use of parental leave by year, education, relative education, type of contract and type of sector, row percentages

	Not on parental	On parental leave	Pearson's Chi²
Year			
1999-2000	99.6	0.4	
2001-2003	99.5	0.5	
2004-2006	99.4	0.6	
2007-2008	98.9	1.1	<0.01
Education			
no degree	99.5	0.5	
vocational degree	99.4	0.6	
university	99.2	0.8	
n/a	99.5	0.5	0.016
Relative education			
both no degree	99.8	0.2	
both vocational degree	99.4	0.6	
both university degree	98.9	1.1	
woman < man	99.7	0.3	
woman > man	98.6	1.4	
n/a	99.5	0.5	<0.01
Type of contract			
temporary	99.6	0.4	
permanent	99.3	0.7	
self-employed	99.6	0.4	
n/a	97.7	2.3	<0.01
Type of sector			
public	99.0	1.0	
private	99.4	0.6	
n/a	100.0	0.0	<0.01

Source: SUFs of the German microcensus 1999-2008.
Notes: The sample consists of fathers who are head or partner of the head of a family, who are between age 18 and 50 and who live with at least one child below age three and a partner between age 18 and 50 in the family. Fathers in same-sex partnerships, single fathers as well as unemployed and inactive fathers are excluded.

In the following, I estimate logistic regression models to investigate whether the findings from these cross tabulations hold in a model in which I also control for other factors.

7.4.2 The determinants of fathers' use of parental leave

Table 43 presents the results of the logistic regression models on the determinants of fathers' use of leave. Model 1a includes the personal characteristics of fathers. In model 1b, I add information on the partner's age and the relative education of the couple, and model 1c also includes the age difference between the partners.

Model 1a shows that fathers were more likely to use parental leave in the period 2007 to 2008 compared to the time period just before the reform (years 2004-2006). In the periods 1999-2000 and 2001-2003 fathers did not behave very differently than in the reference period. Furthermore, I found that eastern German fathers were more likely to be on parental leave than their western German counterparts. Men with a foreign nationality were less likely to be on leave than men with a German nationality. Age had a positive impact on the odds of using parental leave: fathers of the age groups 18-25 years and 26-30 years had significantly lower odds of being on leave than fathers of the age group 31-35 years. The oldest age group (41-50 years) had the highest odds. Regarding the partnership status, cohabiting fathers were significantly more likely to use parental leave than married fathers. This finding was contrary to previous studies from the Nordic countries (Lappegård 2008; Sundström and Duvander 2002). The number of pre-school children showed a negative effect. Fathers of two children had lower odds of being on parental leave than fathers with only one child. However, the category of three and more children was not significant.

I found a negative effect for the age of the youngest child. Fathers with children who were one or two years old were less likely to be using parental leave than fathers with a child under age one. The sex of the youngest child does not have an influence on a fathers' decision to use parental leave. Unlike a previous study, I also did not find a significant effect for fathers whose youngest children were multiples

(Geisler and Kreyenfeld 2011).

Table 43: Logistic regression models 1a-1c, odds ratios, dependent variable: using/not using parental leave, 1999-2008

	Model 1a		**Model 1b**		**Model 1c**	
	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.
Year						
1999-2000	0.82	n.s.	0.85	n.s.	0.86	n.s.
2001-2003	0.90	n.s.	0.92	n.s.	0.92	n.s.
2004-2006	1		1		1	
2007-2008	1.90	***	1.83	***	1.84	***
Region						
Western Germany	1		1		1	
Eastern Germany	1.33	**	1.28	**	1.29	**
Nationality						
German	1		1		1	
Non-German	0.68	**	0.74	*	0.73	**
Size of place of residence						
less than 20,000 inhabitants	1		1		1	
20,000-<500,000 inhabitants	1.13	n.s.	1.11	n.s.	1.11	n.s.
500,000 or more inhabitants	1.43	***	1.31	**	1.31	**
Age in years						
18-25	0.63	*	1.21	n.s.	0.62	**
26-30	0.69	***	0.88	n.s.	0.68	***
31-35	1		1		1	
36-40	0.94	n.s.	0.83	*	0.99	n.s.
41-50	1.35	**	1.05	n.s.	1.59	***
Partnership status						
married	1		1		1	
cohabiting	1.48	***	1.50	***	1.47	***
Education						
no degree	0.95	n.s.				
vocational degree	1					
university	1.08	n.s.				
Number of children under age 6						
1 child	1		1		1	
2 children	0.75	***	0.75	***	0.75	***
3 or more children	0.70	n.s.	0.72	n.s.	0.73	n.s.
Age of youngest child in years						
0	1		1		1	
1	0.75	***	0.74	***	0.75	***
2	0.48	***	0.47	***	0.48	***
Sex of youngest child						
1 boy	1		1		1	
1 girl	1.02	n.s.	1.02	n.s.	1.02	n.s.
Multiples	1.42	n.s.	1.39	n.s.	1.40	n.s.
Type of contract						
temporary	0.51	***	0.50	***	0.49	***
permanent	1		1		1	
self-employed	0.54	***	0.50	***	0.50	***
Type of sector						
public	1.64	***	1.55	***	1.57	***
private	1		1		1	
Relative education						
both no degree			0.58	**	0.56	**
both vocational degree			1		1	
both university degree			1.60	***	1.63	***
woman < man			0.55	***	0.54	***
woman > man			2.25	***	2.25	***

Table 43: (continued): Logistic regression models 1a-1c, odds ratios, dependent variable: using/not using parental leave, 1999-2008

	Model 1a		Model 1b		Model 1c	
	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.
Partner's age						
18-25			0.42	***		
26-30			0.84	n.s.		
31-35			1			
36-40			1.15	n.s.		
41-50			1.77	***		
Age difference between the partners						
Partner same age 0-1 year younger/older					1	
Partner 2-6 years younger					0.94	n.s.
Partner 7 or more years younger					0.73	**
Partner 2-6 years older					1.54	***
Partner 7 or more years older					1.83	*
Model summary						
Log likelihood (starting model)	6870.3		6870.3		6870.3	
Log likelihood (final model)	6625.8		6489.7		6497.9	
Cox & Snell R^2	0.003		0.004		0.004	
Nagelkerke R^2	0.037		0.057		0.056	
Number of cases	91,112		91,112		91,112	
Number of fathers on parental leave	565		565		565	

Source: SUF of the German microcenses 1999-2008.

Notes: The sample consists of fathers who are head or partner of the head of a family, who are between age 18 and 50 and who live with at least one child below age three and a partner between age 18 and 50 in the family. Fathers in heterosexual relationships, single fathers as well as unemployed and inactive fathers are excluded. Controlled for missing values in the variables "type of contract", "type of sector", "education" and "education & partner's education".

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01; n.s. not significant

The workplace characteristics showed the expected effects. The odds of being on leave were lower for self-employed fathers and for men with a temporary contract than for fathers with a permanent contract. Additionally, I found a significantly positive influence of working in the public sector.

Regarding the other central variables education and the relative education of the partners, no significant influence of a father's education for the odds of being on parental leave. A significant effect could be seen only when the relative education of the couple was included (model 1b). Men without a degree who lived with a partner who also did not have a formal vocational education were found to be less likely to use parental leave than fathers with a vocational degree who had an equally educated partner. A group of fathers who were also significantly less likely to be on leave with their children were fathers who were

more educated than their female partner. In contrast, the odds were higher for university graduates with a partner who also had a university degree, and for fathers who had less education than their partner. This finding supports the hypothesis that, on the one, hand gender-egalitarian attitudes, which tend to be stronger among men with a university degree, play a role in the decision to take parental leave. But on the other hand, economic factors, such as the higher earning potential of the more educated female partner are necessarily also taken into account in the decision. In model 1b, I also added the age of the partner, which showed a significant negative effect only for fathers with a partner of the youngest age group (18-25 years) and a positive effect for those with a partner of the oldest age group (41-50 years) compared to for men with a female partner between age 31 and 35. When I included the variable that indicates the age difference between the partners (model 1c), I could observe that having a slightly younger female partner (2-6 years younger) did not have a significant effect on men's use of parental leave, compared to men who were the same age as their partner. However, if the partner was seven or more years younger, fathers were less likely to use leave with their small children, while having an older partner increased the odds of taking parental leave. It seems that age differences tend to reflect job experience, which in turn influences men's decision about whether to take leave.

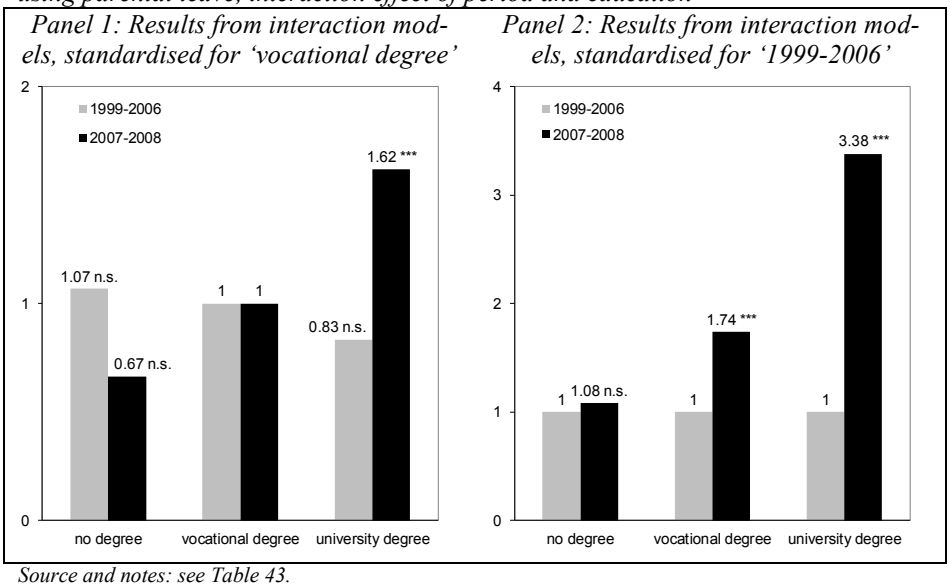
The role of education and relative education before and after the reform

To answer the question of how the introduction of the income-related parental leave benefit has changed the influence of education and the relative education of the partners on fathers' use of leave, I estimated models that included an interaction between the period before (1999-2006) and after the reform (2007-2008). To be able to compare the results, I standardised them. Figure 25, panel 1 shows the results of

the interaction between the father's education and the period standardised for "vocational degree", the medium educational level. No significant difference was found between fathers with different educational levels, and the gradient was rather slightly negative in the period before the new income-related parental leave benefit was introduced (1999-2006). However, in the period 2007-2008, men with a university degree were significantly more likely to be on parental leave than fathers with a vocational degree. Fathers without a degree did not behave significantly differently from fathers with a vocational degree. These results suggest that the new parental leave benefit has encouraged highly educated fathers in particular to take leave.

To further investigate the time trend, I performed interaction models which are standardised for the period before the reform (Figure 25, panel 2). Each educational level in 1999-2006 served as the reference category for a comparison with the same educational level of the period 2007-2008. This way of displaying the results showed that the odds of taking leave for fathers with a vocational degree increased significantly in the years 2007-2008 compared to the period before the reform. For men who had a university degree, the difference between the two periods was even greater. For those without a degree, I did not find a significant difference between the period before and after the reform. These results suggest that different incentives have been created by the new benefit scheme for fathers in the different educational groups. In contrast to the flat-rate benefit that was in effect until 2006, the new income-related parental leave benefit provides a more satisfactory level of income replacement, particularly for medium and high earners. These groups faced a greater loss of income before the parental leave benefit reform, and are now enabled to leave the labour market temporarily while still receiving 67% of their former income. For less educated and, presumably low-income earners, the income replacement of 67% might be too low to allow them to maintain their family's previous standard of living standard.

Figure 25: Logistic regression models, odds ratios, dependent variable: using/not using parental leave, interaction effect of period and education

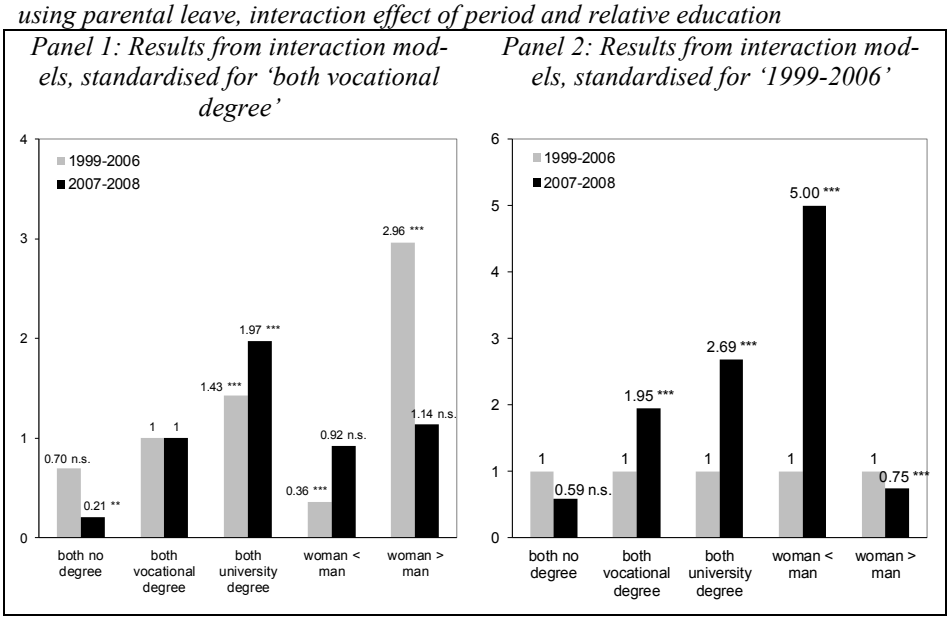


Source and notes: see Table 43.
Notes: The graph shows standardised results. In Panel 1, one the results from two regression model are displayed. In the first model, 'vocational degree & years 1999-2006' has been used as a reference category. In the second model, 'vocational degree & years 2007-2008' is the reference. In Panel 2, the graph shows the results from separate regression models in which the years 1999-2006 and the respective level of education have been used as reference categories. Controlled for: region, nationality, size of place of residence, age, partnership status, number of children under age six, age of youngest child, sex of youngest child, type of contract, type of sector.

For the interaction between the period and the relative education of the partners, the results are displayed in a manner similar to the results for men's education. Figure 26, panel 1 shows that before the reform educational differences between the partners had a strong effect: i.e., fathers who were more educated than their female partners were significantly less likely to be on parental leave, while the odds for men with less education than their partner were higher compared to fathers with a vocational degree and a similarly educated partner. In the period 2007-2008, there were no significant differences between these groups of men. However, there were significantly higher odds for university graduates with an equally educated partner in both periods. While in the period before the reform fathers without a degree with a similarly educated partner did not behave differently than fathers with a vocational degree whose partner had the same educational level, in the period 2007-2008 the less educated fathers with a similarly educated partner were significantly less likely to be on parental leave.

This suggests that educational differences between the partners had a more important influence on fathers' take-up of leave in the period before the reform than after the reform.

Figure 26: Logistic regression models, odds ratios, dependent variable: using/not using parental leave, interaction effect of period and relative education



Source and notes: see Table 43.
Notes: The graph shows standardised results. In Panel 1, the results from two regression models are displayed. In the first model, 'both vocational degree & years 1999-2006' has been used as a reference category. In the second model, 'both vocational degree & years 2007-2008' is the reference. In Panel 2, the
graph shows the results from separate regression models in which the years 1999-2006 and the respective level of education have been used as reference categories. Controlled for: region, nationality, size of place of residence, age, partnership status, number of children under age six, age of youngest child, sex of youngest child, type of contract, type of sector, age difference between the partners

To investigate this issue more deeply I also estimated models in which each level of relative education in the period 1999-2006 served as the reference category for the same level in the period 2007-2008 (Figure 26, panel 2). The results showed that there were significantly positive effects for fathers with a vocational degree and a partner who had the same level of education, as well as for university graduates with a partner who also had a university degree and for men who had a higher degree than their partner. Among this group, the greatest increase can be observed. As has already been discussed, their odds of being on parental leave were quite low in the period before the reform, which

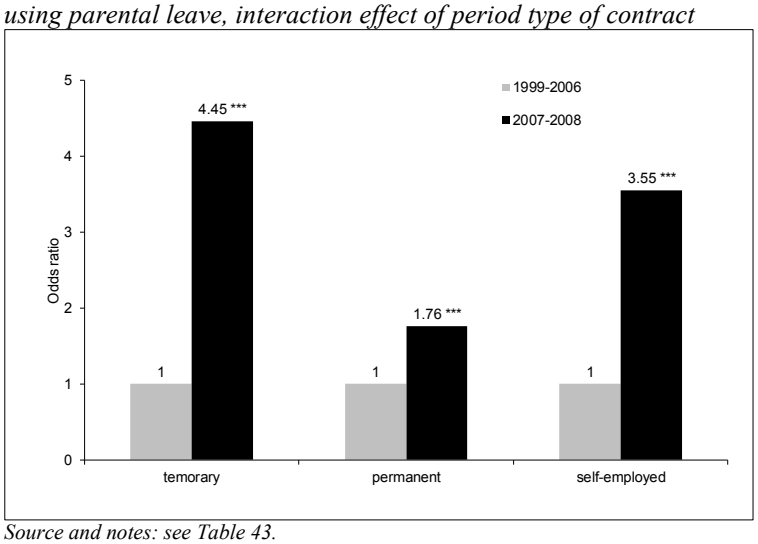
was very likely due to the financial disincentives for taking leave. After the reform, the incentive was much higher to take at least some leave, even if the couple had to live with a reduced income for that time. The reform enabled them to care for their children, which was inadequate for most households. No significant effect was found after the reform for fathers without a degree who lived with a partner who also did not have a degree. This points to the fact that the reform did not particularly encourage less qualified fathers with presumably lower incomes to use parental leave.

The effect of workplace characteristics before and after the reform

I was further interested in investigating how the effect of workplace characteristics changed after the reform. I therefore ran an interaction of the type of contract with the period before and after the reform as well as the type of sector and period.

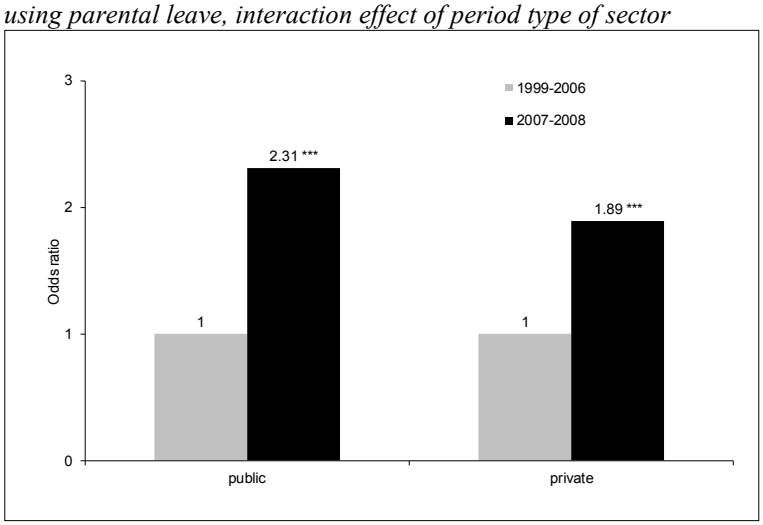
Figure 27 supports the previously discussed trend of an overall increase in the likelihood of being on parental leave for fathers in the period 2007-2008 compared to the period before the reform. However, the increase between the period 1999-2006 and the period 2007-2008 was found to be higher among self-employed fathers and fathers with a temporary contract than for fathers with a permanent contract. In general, a temporary contract and self-employment lower the odds of using parental leave as I have observed in model 1. It seems that the reform encouraged even fathers with rather difficult or unstable employment conditions to take at least some leave to care for their children. It is also possible that taking parental leave is used as a strategy to avoid unemployment by fathers with temporary contracts. This is, however, only speculation and could not be investigated with the data of the microcensus due to the lack of employment histories.

Figure 27: Logistic regression models, odds ratios, dependent variable: using/not using parental leave, interaction effect of period type of contract



Source and notes: see Table 43.
Notes: The graph shows standardised result from separate regression models in which the years 1999-2006 and the respective category of the type of contract have been used as reference categories. Controlled for: region, nationality, size of place of residence, age, partnership status, number of children under age six, age of youngest child, sex of youngest child, type of sector, relative education, age difference between the partners

Figure 28: Logistic regression models, odds ratios, dependent variable: using/not using parental leave, interaction effect of period type of sector



Source and notes: see Table 43.
The graph shows standardised result from separate regression models in which the years 1999-2006 and the respective category of the type ofsectort have been used as reference categories. Controlled for: region, nationality, size of place of residence, age, partnership status, number of children under age six, age of youngest child, sex of youngest child, type of contract, relative education, age difference between the partners

Regarding the type of sector the results in model 1 showed that fathers who worked in the public sector were more likely to use leave than fathers in the private sector. The interaction between the time period and the type of sector (Figure 28) again showed the overall increase in

the odds for men in both, the public and the private sector. The increase for employees in the public sector was, however, slightly higher than for those working in the private sector between the two time periods.

7.4.3 Sensitivity analyses

As was already mentioned, one problem with the pooled data I used for the analyses on fathers' use of parental leave was that I might have multiple observations in the model, since the microcensus is a rotating panel which the households stay in for four consecutive years. However, it was not possible to identify these individuals in the dataset. Therefore, I conducted a sensitivity analysis (Appendix -Table A 11 and Figure A 1-Figure A 4) to investigate whether the results were robust. For this analysis I used only years of the microcensus that are four years apart from each other (years 2000, 2004 and 2008). The results were mainly in line with our findings for the years 1999-2008. However, some of the effects were no longer significant, which I basically ascribe to the even lower number of fathers in the sample (206 out of 27,363 were on parental leave) compared to the analysis for all of the years between 1999 and 2008, with 565 out of 91,112 fathers on leave. The variables that were affected were region, nationality, size of the place of residence, partnership status and age differences between the partners. However, the effects mainly had the same direction in the sensitivity analysis. One difference was that I found a significant negative effect for men without a degree, while there was no significant effect of education in model 1a (Table 43). The reason for this might be that in the sensitivity analysis the number of fathers was only 206 of which 118 fathers took leave in the year 2008. The negative effect for men without a degree in 2008 dominated in the model. Regarding the relative education of the partners I found that in the sensitivity analysis the negative effect for fathers who had more edu-

cation than their female partner was not significant anymore. I link this to the small number of fathers on leave in the sample of our sensitivity analysis. Regarding the interaction effects between the variables education and year, as well as relative education and year, the results of the sensitivity analysis were similar to the results for all of the years between 1999 and 2008. I had to drop the category of "both have no degree in 2008" since there were no fathers on leave in this category. The interaction between the type of contract as well as between the type of sector and year support our results for the analysis with all of the years between 1999 and 2008.

7.5 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to investigate the determinants of fathers' use of parental leave in Germany within the period 1999 to 2008. On the one hand, I was interested in learning how men's education, the relative education of the partners, and the workplace characteristics influence fathers' leave-taking behaviour. On the other hand, the focus was also on how the policy change from a flat-rate benefit to an income-related parental leave benefit in the year 2007 has changed the influence of these variables.

The descriptive analyses showed that the overall use of leave among fathers with children under age three had been low between 1999 and 2008. On average, a proportion of 0.6% of the fathers in our sample were on leave. However, we could also observe that the share of fathers on parental leave increased with the introduction of the income-related parental leave benefit to a value of 1.4% in 2008, which can be linked to the higher incentive to use parental leave compared to the time before the policy reform, when the low flat-rate benefit was in effect. The analysis of the determinants of fathers' leave in the multivariate analyses showed that the parental leave benefit reform had a strong influence on some groups of fathers in particular.

The role of education and relative education

Regarding the role of education, three hypotheses were put forward. First, I argued that fathers with a high level of education should be more likely to use parental leave due to their more gender-egalitarian attitudes. I contrasted this hypothesis with the assumption derived from the economic theory that highly educated fathers are also the ones with the highest opportunity costs of leaving the labour market temporarily, which would make them less likely to decide to take parental leave. Additionally, I included a hypothesis on the relative resources of the partners which asserted that men who are more educated than their female partner are less likely to decide to take leave since they are able to earn a higher income on the labour market than their partner.

The results showed that, if only the education of the father over the whole period of 1999-2008 was considered, no significant differences between the educational groups can be found. If we only look at education for the whole period of 1999-2008, it seems that neither the hypothesis that highly educated men lead the way to a more engaged fatherhood, nor the hypothesis that they are less likely to use parental leave due to their high opportunity costs is supported. However, I found evidence for the relative resources hypothesis: men who were more educated than their partner were less likely to be on parental leave than medium educated men with a medium educated partner (both with vocational degrees), while men who were less educated than their partner were more likely to use leave. However, highly educated men with a similarly educated female partner were also more likely to be on parental leave. These findings suggest that it might not only be more gender-egalitarian attitudes of highly educated men that influence their decision to use leave. Only if fathers can afford to take some time off from the labour market because, for example, their female partner is also highly educated and has a high earning potential are they able to decide to take parental leave.

The effect of workplace characteristics

The influence of economic conditions on men's decision to use parental leave was also supported by the result that workplace characteristics, such as having a permanent contract and working in the public sector, increased fathers' use of parental leave. This suggests having the certainty that he will be able to return to the workplace is an important prerequisite for a father's decision to use parental leave.

The effect of the parental leave benefit reform

In general, fathers' odds of being on parental leave increased in the period 2007-2008, which supported hypothesis 5. However, while no effect of education was found for the whole period between 1999 and 2008, the effects were different for the period before and after the reform. The interaction between period and education showed that there was no difference between fathers with different levels of education before the introduction of the income-related parental leave benefit (1999-2006) but that there was a positive effect for highly educated fathers to take leave. Additionally, the effect among men without a degree was negative in the period 2007-2008, although not significant. This supports our hypothesis 6 that highly educated men in particular have been encouraged to use parental leave by the benefit reform. This suggests that the new policy measure has lowered their opportunity costs and enabled them to behave in line with their more gender-egalitarian attitudes by granting them an adequate income replacement for the time when are not earning an income on the labour market. For less educated men, by contrast, the incentive to use leave remains rather low.

The results on relative education showed that educational differences between the men and their partner were very important in the period before the new parental leave benefit was introduced. In this period, men with a more educated partner were most likely to be on leave,

while fathers who had more education than their partner were the least likely to be on leave. In the period 2007-2008, however, men who had more or less education than their female partner did not behave significantly differently from medium educated men with a similarly educated partner. I found that in both periods, the highly educated men with a highly educated partner were more likely to use leave than medium educated men with a similarly educated partner. The effect was stronger in 2007-2008, which suggests that attitudes regarding an equal division of childrearing did not lead per se to an engaged or "involved" fatherhood. Having the financial ability to maintain the family without working in the labour market is a very important prerequisite for a father's decision to take leave. The new parental leave benefit that was introduced in the year 2007 provides this opportunity by supporting parents with two-thirds of their previous net income. Critics have argued that this new benefit mainly favours high-income earners who were not entitled to the benefit before the reform due to low income limits and who now receive a generous benefit of up to €1800 while for the low-income earners who were entitled to the flat-rate benefit of €300 for two years until 2006, the benefit period has been cut to 14 months (Wimbauer, Henninger and Dombrowski 2008). Indeed, our evidence shows that men without a degree whose partner also did not have a degree were significantly less likely to take parental leave in the period after the reform while, before the policy change they did not behave differently from medium educated men with a similarly educated partner. These men did not benefit from the reform, since the parental leave benefit of 67% of the previous income is most likely too low to allow them to maintain their family's previous standard of living.

However, I also found that the greatest increase between the periods occurred among men who were more educated than their partner. This was the group of men for whom the former flat-rate benefit created the lowest incentive, and who now have the most to gain from the new

income-related benefit.

Our analyses suggest that the formal right to care for a young child, which has existed in Germany for fathers as well as for mothers since 1986, will not have a strong effect on behaviour if no adequate income compensation is granted. In the 20 years before the reform of the parental leave benefit in 2007, the share of men among benefit recipients was less than 4%. This can be attributed to the low flat-rate benefit that was paid previously, and which was not adequate at all to meet the financial need of most families. This low benefit level discouraged highly educated fathers in particular from using parental leave because their income loss would have been very high. The new income-dependent benefit scheme enables highly educated men in particular to behave in line with their more liberal gender role attitudes, and gave them a real option to take some time off from work and care for their children. This option also weakened the strong effect of relative resources between the partners, which could be observed until 2006.

8 Summary and concluding remarks

In the last decades there has been a strong increase in women's employment participation, especially among those with children. Many researchers have discussed about the individual factors which affect maternal employment and in the recent decades there has been also more research on how welfare state policies affect maternal employment decisions. Fathers' employment decisions have, however, been less in the centre of research.

In the last ten to 15 years many European welfare states have changed their labour market and social policies in order to increase labour market participation in their countries. On the European level this goal has been enforced within the European Employment Strategy. It has been argued that this represents a shift toward a new European social model that that is basically an adult worker model because it assumes the inclusion of all adults who are capable into the labour market, regardless of their caring obligations.

The aim of this work was to understand how the changing labour market and social policies have influenced the employment patterns of women and men with children in two European countries that differ in terms of their historical development and the underlying principles of their welfare state. The goal was to analyse how the design of the different policies in Great Britain and Germany, such as labour market policies and parental leave policies, have shaped mothers' and fathers' labour market participation and how this has changed over time.

The thesis addressed three major questions. First, the aim of the synopsis of the social policies was to investigate whether the changes in the policy regulations represented a shift away from the male breadwinner model towards an adult worker model. Second, the analysis looked at to what extent these changing social policies have shaped the labour market participation behaviour of women and men with

children. Focusing on different groups of mothers and fathers with regard to their partnership status and their education, the third aim of the analysis was to look at whether welfare state policies set incentives for different employment outcomes among specific groups of parents.

8.1 Summary of the study

I started to outline two major theoretical approaches that are frequently used to explain employment decisions (*Chapter 2*). The discussion of the welfare state approach and the economic approach emphasised the influence of the welfare state policies in shaping women's and men's employment decisions by providing economic incentives for specific employment arrangements within families. Since social policies always have an underlying normative dimension of "right" and "wrong" behaviour, especially in the field of family policy (Strohmeier 2002), the question was, on the one hand, which normative model Britain and Germany had followed in the past, and whether this has changed recently. Welfare state researchers who have discussed the emergence of an adult worker model in European welfare states have argued that both countries have shifted in this direction, and away from a male breadwinner model. This means that the inherent social policy assumption that families consist of a full-time working husband and a non-working wife has changed, having been replaced with the assumption that families in which both partners work to maintain themselves and their children are now the norm. However, critics of this adult worker model have argued that the shift in policies has been rather ambivalent due to the parallel existence of both defamilialising and familialising measures.

One question that feminist welfare state researchers have been theoretically interested in is whether lone mothers have been treated as earners or carers in the social policy logic of male breadwinner welfare regimes. Great Britain and Germany, which have long been labelled as

typical strong male breadwinner states, are two exemplary cases to study with regard to this question. In Great Britain, the number of lone mothers, and particularly of never-married lone mothers, has increased considerably since the 1970s. They have been perceived as a social problem in terms of their socio-demographic composition, as a high proportion of them are young and poorly educated when they have their first child. These characteristics have made it rather difficult for lone mothers to maintain themselves and their children by employment, and they have high rates of welfare dependency and poverty.

To investigate the question of whether there has been a shift towards an adult worker model, and whether lone mothers have been treated as earners or as carers, *chapter 3* outlined the historical roots and the underlying principles of the German and the British welfare states, and described the contextual framework of both welfare states. It was shown that both welfare states have implemented policies intended to increase individual employment participation, especially of women with children, in the last ten to 15 years. While Great Britain has strongly focused on lone mothers due to their low levels of employment participation and high rates of welfare dependency, in Germany this group was not targeted, as their employment participation has been higher than that of married women with children in western Germany. After the synopsis of the social policies, my conclusion was in line with that of the critics of the adult worker model: namely, that there has not been a clear shift towards an adult worker model, but rather an ambivalent policy shift which included individualising and familialising policies at the same time.

After New Labour took office in 1997, they introduced several measures that aimed at increasing lone mothers' employment participation. On the one hand, they introduced welfare to work policies (*New Deal for Lone Parents*), which was the first of the New Deal programmes and already started in late 1997 as a pilot project. In addition, the extra benefits that were paid to lone parents were withdrawn,

which gave a rather punitive signal (Wright 2011). Although the target group of the *New Deal for Lone Parents* was soon extended to lone parents with younger children, and participation in job search advice interviews was made compulsory, lone parents were not forced to enter employment before their child reached age 16 until late 2008. However, the newly introduced in-work benefit (*Working Families' Tax Credit*) created strong incentives for lone mothers to take at least long part-time employment by adding benefits to low earnings. In addition, efforts were made to increase the provision of childcare through the newly introduced National Childcare Strategy. The provision of childcare through this strategy was only part-time, however, and despite the help with childcare costs that was provided, the cost of childcare remained high. Taken together, New Labour's initiative can be regarded as rather ambivalent for lone mothers, since it tried to push lone mothers towards engagement in the labour market, but hesitated in making benefits dependent on work search efforts. The shift from treating lone mothers solely as carers, as was the case in the past, towards treating them as earners, or as adult workers, has been not straightforward. It can be assumed that long-standing constructions of "right" and "wrong" motherhood and childhood (Pfau-Effinger 2004) made it difficult for policy makers to change social policies abruptly.

In the (West) German welfare state, lone mothers have not been perceived as such a problem, due to the fact that they were mainly divorced mothers who were supported through post-nuptial maintenance, and also because the size of their group has been considerably smaller. Unlike in Great Britain, their employment participation has also been higher than that of married mothers due to the strong institutional support of married couples which set negative employmnent incentives to married mothers. Lone parents were also given priority access to childcare which indicates that, unlike in Britain, in the the social policy logic they were rather seen as earners. However, in eastern Germany the proportion of lone mothers has been much higher

than in western Germany due to the much higher levels of non-marital childbearing in eastern Germany before unification, and is now increasingly seen as a problem.

Unlike in Britain, the major unemployment benefit reform (*Hartz IV*) that took place in 2005 did not target a specific group of the population. The goal was to enhance activation among the long-term unemployed. However, non-working lone mothers, who had often received social assistance benefits before Hartz IV, if they received welfare benefits, were affected by this reform, as recipients of social assistance benefits became the target of stronger activation measures. Although in theory the regulations did not change with regard to the obligations of parents to search for work when their youngest child reached age three, it can be assumed that they were more strongly enforced under the new benefit scheme.

Major findings

For the empirical analyses, I used two large-scale data sets from the German microcensus and the British Labour Force Survey. This allowed me to conduct a detailed data analysis of mothers' and fathers' labour market behaviour, and to examine the two parts of Germany separately. The empirical analysis of these data was in three parts. In the first part (*chapter 5*), I broadly described how the labour market participation of men and women with and without children developed in the period under study in eastern and western Germany and in Great Britain. The results showed that maternal labour market participation strongly increased between 1996 and 2008 in western Germany. While the full-time employment rate even slightly declined, I found a massive increase in the share of part-time working mothers. Short part-time employment gained huge importance among western German mothers, particularly among married women with children. However, since the incomes of these jobs are quite low (€400) and only

limited social security contributions are paid, which does not lead to entitlements in the social security system, such as the insurance-based unemployment benefit system, it is very questionable whether this form of employment can be regarded as a step towards the economic independence of women. In contrast to western Germany, a decline in total maternal employment could be observed among eastern German mothers, which was mainly due to a reduction in full-time employment and an increase in the group of non-employed mothers.

The British picture of parental employment within the period 1997 to 2008 was different from the eastern or western German situations, as there was an increase in full-time employment among all parents, while short part-time employment decreased, which suggests that the promotion of employment of at least 16 hours per week through in-work benefits was effective.

The determinants of maternal employment

To better understand the determinants of maternal employment in Great Britain and Germany, I conducted an analysis for the period of the late 1990s until the late 2000s, when major labour market reforms and shifts within the family policies took place in the two welfare states. The major question was how this affected the employment participation of different group of mothers. I focused on the role of education, the partnership status and the policy change.

The main findings for Britain supported prior findings which showed that lone mothers, particularly never-married lone mothers, are less likely to be engaged in the labour market than married or cohabiting women. It could be shown that composition effects partially explain this finding, since never-married mothers are younger, less educated and have younger children. However, the findings also suggest that the composition of this group cannot fully explain their low rates of employment participation. After controlling for major socio-

demographic characteristics, such as the age of the youngest child, the woman's own age and her education, the differences between married mothers and lone mothers remained significant. This supported the view that the benefit system created major work disincentives for lone mothers, since, apart from compulsory meetings with an advisor, their entitlement to benefits was not connected to work search efforts until late 2008.

However, analysing the change in the employment engagement of lone mothers during the period under study revealed that they considerably increased their labour market participation after New Labour started to introduce welfare-to-work policies, which were directly aimed at bringing this group into the labour market. The influence of the in-work benefit, which supported employment of at least 16 hours, could be clearly seen in the rise in long-part time employment (16-29 hours per week) and in full-time employment (30 hours per week, for which an additional benefit was granted), in particular among never married and divorced lone mothers. Short part-time employment, which was not subsidised by in-work benefits, decreased during the period under study among all groups of mothers. Unlike lone mothers, British mothers with a partner did not experience a boost in their employment behaviour after the reform. This might be ascribed to the potential negative effects that in-work benefits have on second earners.

The main findings for the two parts of Germany can be summarised as follows: western German married mothers were the least likely to be employed, although their employment participation strongly increased, albeit mainly through part-time employment, especially through short part-time employment. In contrast, eastern German married mothers were, together with cohabiting women, found to be the most likely to be engaged in employment, after controlling for socio-demographic characteristics. Lone mothers in eastern Germany were less likely to be employed, which can, however, be explained to a

greater extent by socio-demographic characteristics, such as their younger age, their lower level of education and the presence of younger children. This was different to Britain, where, after controlling for these variables, the negative effect mainly persisted.

With regard to the major labour market reform in Germany, the introduction of the *unemployment benefit II*, it was found that employment increased among never married and divorced lone mothers in 2008 and among married mothers. However, the strongest increase was seen for the never-married lone mothers in western Germany.

The results for eastern German mothers, by contrast, did not show an increase after the reform was introduced. This might suggest that in eastern Germany the labour market situation which is characterised by higher unemployment than in western Germany makes it more difficult for mothers to find a job and that even stronger activation policies cannot increase employment. On the other hand, it is important to bear in mind that, compared to western Germany, engagement in the labour market among mothers in eastern Germany was already much higher. In other words, there was more potential for western than for eastern German mothers to increase their employment participation.

With regard to the influence of the partner's characteristics, the results showed that having a partner with a high level of education had a negative influence on maternal labour market participation in Britain and western Germany, while for eastern German mothers the results were not as straightforward. The findings showed that having an unemployed partner partially increased employment among mothers in western Germany, which supports the assumption that women take up employment when their partner loses his job (added worker effect). Meanwhile in eastern Germany and Britain, support for the discouraged worker hypothesis was found, meaning that maternal employment was lower among women with unemployed partners. However, reasons for this likely differ between eastern Germany and Great Brit-

ain. While the benefit system in Britain still treats partnered women as dependants of their male partners and cuts benefits if the (female) partner starts working, in eastern Germany the high unemployment is likely the main barrier to employment.

Social policies and fathers' use of parental leave in Germany

Welfare state research over the past decade has tended to acknowledge that fathers have been neglected as carers in prior discussions on the familialising and defamilialising effects of welfare state policies (Esping-Andersen 2002, 2009). Esping-Andersen argued for a "feminization" of men's life courses by giving fathers real choices about whether to take over care obligations.

To examine to what extent German fathers were able to make real choices about the engagement of care for their young children, I conducted analyses on the determinants of fathers' use of leave in Germany (*chapter 7*).[42] The focus of these analyses was on the role of education and workplace characteristics. The major question was how the implementation of the major parental leave benefit reform in 2007 changed the influence of these factors. Apart from an overall increase in fathers' take-up of leave, the results suggested that highly educated fathers with an equally educated female partner benefited most from the reform, and that those who were the least likely to use leave before the reform—i.e., men with a higher level of education than their female partner—also benefited. In contrast, I did not find an increase among men with a low level of education, which suggests that the income-related benefit that has been granted since 2007 created higher incentives for high earners to use the leave than for low earners, because the benefit which is paid as two-thirds of the previous income,

[42] The focus on Germany was due to data limitations. Since fathers' use of leave is even lower among British than among German men, the number of cases would have been to low to be analysed in a in a meaningful manner.

might be too low to maintain their family. It was further assumed that the increased willingness of highly educated fathers' to use leave is mainly an interplay of more gender-egalitarian attitudes and economic opportunities. The finding that fathers with a temporary employment contract increasingly used leave suggests that adequate income-related benefits might indeed reduce opportunity costs and provide a real choice for a more involved fatherhood.

Strengths and limitations of the study

I used large-scale cross-sectional data which covered a period between the late 1990 and the late 2000s, and which allowed me to conduct analyses on subgroups of the population. The advantage was that both data sets were highly comparable due to their similar design, since they are both part of the European Union Labour Force Survey. Due to the large number of cases relative to other social surveys, I was able to distinguish between the two regions of Germany, and found that some of the maternal employment patterns in eastern Germany are more similar to those of British than of western German mothers. In addition, the large number of cases enabled me to make fine distinctions in types of employment which prior studies did not make. The analyses revealed that these distinctions, especially between long and short part-time employment, were very meaningful. Another advantage of the case numbers was that I was able to make fine distinctions in the partnership status, distinguishing between never-married lone mothers and the group of divorced, widowed and separated lone mothers, as well as between cohabiting and married mothers.

However, the study also had some limitations. It used a cross-sectional design, which is of course problematic in that it did not study the same individuals and their behaviour over time. This is especially relevant if the goal is to study the role of the partner's employment status. In the German microcensus and in the Labour Force Survey, we do not know

how long the partner has been in the specific employment state, such as unemployment, which is very likely to have an influence on women's employment decisions. In addition, a cross-sectional design does also not provide partnership histories, which would, for example, give information on the entitlement to maintenance.

A further limitation is that the role of the changing policies was only operationalised by introducing the calendar year into the analysis. A more refined method which would allow for a more profound causal analysis, such as a fixed-effects model, could not be applied due to the fact that I was not using longitudinal data. The macro-context as the provision of childcare could be also integrated in a different way, by, for example, using multi-level models. This was, however, not possible because I lacked access to regional codes in the micro-level data that would have enabled me to link regional childcare provision rates.

The change in the German microcensus from a survey that referred to a reference week until 2004 to a survey which was conducted throughout the whole year might imply some problems due to a slight increase in the number of employed persons. However, it has been argued that the main increase has been due to a change in the weighting system. This means that it should not severely affect the results of the multivariate analyses.

8.2 Concluding remarks

The synopsis of the welfare state policies, as well as the empirical analysis, raised a couple of issues. The discussion about whether there has been a shift towards the adult worker model has pointed to the question of the limits of women's defamilialisation in order to achieve a higher level of labour market participation. It seems that welfare state researchers (and policy makers) have become aware of the limits of women's defamilialisation. For a long time, the main line of thinking had been that the most desirable welfare regime is one in which

the state provides as many services as possible to defamilialise women, thus helping them to participate in the labour market, which would in turn lead to an increase in gender equality. Only recently have men also been studied by welfare state researchers, as it became clear that care, which was usually provided by women, cannot be replaced to an unlimited extent by the state. Thus, the call for a "feminisation" of men's life courses, which was put forward by Esping-Andersen (2009: 99), alludes to a meaningful aspect in this discussion, since the push for a higher degree of defamilialisation of women does not appear to solely promote more gender equality with regard to the division of paid and unpaid work between men and women.

However, in the discussion of the adult worker model, it has been further pointed out that the new policy assumptions that all men and women will become engaged in the labour market might be running ahead of behavioural change (Lewis 2001: 158). We therefore not only need to take into account the practical limits of defamilialisation, but also barriers in terms of attitudes and norms that may exist in formerly strong male breadwinner welfare states, such as Great Britain and Germany.

Some authors have further argued that the motivation for the shift towards more policies that promote the reconciliation of family and work was not the goal of gender equality per se, but rather other goals, which then led to "functional family policy" (Daly 2010: 434). In Britain, for example, the objectives were related around various issues, such as education and well-being of children, and the employment of parents in order to reduce and avoid poverty. For Germany, it has been argued that the shift in family policy, such as the introduction of the income-related parental leave benefit and also the increase in the provision of childcare, has mainly been driven by the demographic ageing of the society, which will lead to a shortage of labour in the future. Thus, work-family balance policies have mainly been

implemented based on the need for higher rates of female employment and of fertility, and not to achieve gender equality per se.

With regard to the design of the parallel existence of defamilialising and familialising policies in Britain and Germany, the empirical analyses have suggested that they indeed create an ambivalent incentive structure for different groups of mothers and fathers. While the new parental leave benefit establishes positive incentives for the use of leave among highly educated, high-income earners, fathers with lower levels of education do not seem to benefit from the reform. This means not all fathers are given a "real choice" to get engaged in care.

The in-work benefit in Britain is another example of an ambivalent incentive structure. While it achieved higher employment participation among lone mothers, it appears to have had the opposite effect among partnered mothers. With regard to the policy logic of treating different groups of mothers as earners or as carers, the change in the design of British labour market and social policies suggests that the logic is changing from regarding them solely as carers toward regarding them mainly as earners. In Germany, the policy logic of treating married mothers mainly as carers has been slightly changing recently. However, the ambivalent incentive structure of parallel emerging defamilialising and "old" familialsing policies will persist and is likely to be reinforced in the German case with the introduction of a low flat-rate childcare allowance which is planned to be introduced in 2013.

9 Appendices

A.1 Description of the datasets

Description of the German microcensus

The German microcensus is a representative population sample containing one percent of the households in Germany. It has been conducted in western Germany since 1957 and in eastern Germany since 1991. It contains the Labour Force Survey of the European Union. Until 2004 the survey was conducted once a year, but since 2005 households have been surveyed throughout the whole year (Lechert and Schimpl-Neimanns 2007). This change in the survey method might be problematic in terms of a slight increase in the number of employed persons afterwards. However, the most of the increase in the number of employees was ascribed to a change in the weighting system (Körner and Puch 2009: 540). For my analyses, this means that there might be an affect on the descriptive analyses (which are weighted), but not on the multivariate analyses since I did not use weights.

I used the Scientific-Use-File (SUF), which is a factual anonymised 70 percent sub-sample of the original microcensus provided for research purposes by the German Federal Statistical Office (Lüttinger and Riede 1997).

Description of the British Labour Force Survey

The Labour Force Survey is the largest regular household survey in the UK and contains about 0.1 % of the population. It has been conducted in Great Britain since 1973 and since 1994/95 in the whole UK. While it was conducted once a year until 1991, from 1992 on-

wards the survey has been conducted every seasonal quarter before it was moved to calendar quarters in 2006 (UK Data Archive 2007). I used the quarters that were conducted in April to June to make the analysis most comparable to the German microcensus which was also conducted in April or May before 2005.

A.2 Appendix to chapter 6

Description of sample A

Table A 1: Description of sample A for the analysis of maternal employment, western Germany, all mothers with children under age 18, row percentages

	Full-time	Long p-t	Short p-t	Parental leave	Unemployed	Inactive	Total
Calendar year							
1996	22.1	19.4	11.6	3.9	4.0	39.1	100
2000	21.2	20.9	15.9	5.0	3.6	33.4	100
2004	19.4	22.1	17.7	4.6	5.5	30.7	100
2008	20.2	23.3	20.2	5.3	5.0	25.9	100
Partnership status							
married	17.7	21.2	17.7	5.0	3.5	35.0	100
cohabiting	32.5	22.5	9.2	7.5	6.3	22.0	100
single, never married	34.2	18.7	7.2	4.5	10.4	25.0	100
divorced, separated, widowed	35.0	23.5	10.8	1.1	9.8	19.8	100
Woman's age							
18-25	12.1	6.5	9.2	9.4	6.1	56.8	100
26-30	15.2	11.6	13.3	11.9	5.1	42.9	100
31-35	17.6	18.5	16.4	7.8	4.6	35.0	100
36-40	21.3	24.8	17.9	3.0	4.2	28.8	100
41-50	25.9	26.5	16.9	0.5	4.1	26.1	100
Nationality							
German	21.1	23.2	16.9	5.0	4.1	29.7	100
Non-German	18.3	10.1	11.9	2.7	6.8	50.4	100
Size of place of residence							
<20,000	20.1	22.6	17.6	5.3	3.7	30.8	100
20,000-<500,000	20.1	20.9	16.2	4.3	4.8	33.7	100
500,000 or more	24.6	19.6	12.3	4.2	5.9	33.5	100
Number of children							
1 child	27.4	23.2	13.7	5.4	4.9	25.5	100
2 children	16.0	22.1	19.0	4.3	4.2	34.4	100
3 or more children	11.4	12.8	16.9	3.5	4.1	51.4	100
Age of youngest child							
0-2	11.6	8.1	11.0	19.0	2.3	48.1	100
3-5	15.8	21.5	18.6	0.6	6.3	37.1	100
6-9	19.4	25.9	20.2	0.1	5.3	29.2	100
10-17	30.2	27.5	16.1	0.0	4.6	21.6	100
Woman's education							
no/low education	16.0	12.2	14.1	1.9	6.9	48.9	100
medium education	20.5	24.4	17.9	5.6	3.9	27.8	100
high education	31.4	25.2	13.3	6.2	3.2	20.8	100
n/a	22.4	17.3	11.8	2.8	4.3	41.4	100
Number of cases	34,115	35,164	26,681	7,730	7,375	53,385	164,450

Notes: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence in western Germany, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. (3) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Own calculations.

Table A 2: Description of sample A for the analysis of maternal employment, eastern Germany, all mothers with children under age 18, row percentages

	Full-time	Long p-t	Short p-t	Parent. leave	Unem-ployed	Inactive	Total
Calendar year							
1996	63.8	7.2	1.6	1.6	17.0	8.9	100
2000	58.3	8.2	3.5	3.1	15.5	11.5	100
2004	52.9	9.4	5.3	3.5	18.0	10.9	100
2008	50.1	11.9	6.1	5.5	12.3	14.1	100
Partnership status							
married	60.1	10.0	3.7	2.6	14.0	9.6	100
cohabiting	52.6	6.7	3.6	6.9	15.7	14.5	100
single, never married	43.8	6.1	4.4	4.1	24.1	17.5	100
divorced, separated, widowed	56.9	6.6	4.2	0.6	22.1	9.7	100
Woman's age							
18-25	27.4	3.9	2.8	9.7	19.4	36.8	100
26-30	47.0	7.4	3.8	8.3	16.7	16.8	100
31-35	58.7	9.5	3.6	3.8	15.5	9.0	100
36-40	63.5	9.6	3.9	1.0	14.9	7.0	100
41-50	62.0	9.4	4.1	0.3	16.3	7.9	100
Nationality							
German	58.0	8.9	3.7	3.2	15.8	10.4	100
Non-German	23.9	5.1	6.4	2.4	24.0	38.2	100
Size of place of residence							
<20,000	57.3	8.9	3.8	2.9	16.6	10.5	100
20,000-<500,000	57.1	8.6	3.7	3.3	16.1	11.3	100
500,000 or more	57.5	9.9	4.0	4.0	11.5	13.2	100
Number of children							
1 child	61.4	8.4	3.6	3.0	14.7	8.9	100
2 children	55.5	9.7	3.8	3.3	16.2	11.5	100
3 or more children	31.0	8.5	5.4	4.2	24.6	26.4	100
Age of youngest child							
0-2	28.2	5.9	3.8	18.1	9.9	34.2	100
3-5	53.3	10.5	4.3	0.2	22.3	9.4	100
6-9	61.0	10.2	4.3	0.0	18.2	6.2	100
10-17	67.4	8.8	3.4	0.0	15.1	5.2	100
Woman's education							
no/low education	28.2	5.3	4.1	1.8	28.4	32.3	100
medium education	57.6	9.0	4.0	3.1	16.5	9.8	100
high education	71.2	9.9	2.9	4.3	5.6	6.2	100
n/a	56.6	7.6	2.6	2.1	16.8	14.3	100
Number of cases	21,557	3,329	1,430	1,188	6,002	4,153	37,659

Notes: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence in eastern Germany, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. (3) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Own calculations.

Table A 3: Description of sample A for the analysis of maternal employment, Great Britain, all mothers with children under age 18, row percentages

	Full-time	Long p-t	Short p-t	Parental leave	Unem-ployed	Inactive	Total
Calendar year							
1996	25.1	22.4	15.6	1.8	4.4	30.8	100
2000	26.7	25.1	14.2	2.0	3.8	28.2	100
2004	27.5	26.6	12.2	2.7	3.3	27.8	100
2008	29.5	26.2	9.6	4.1	3.7	26.9	100
Partnership status							
married	28.1	26.6	15.8	2.7	2.3	24.5	100
cohabiting	27.0	22.4	10.4	5.5	4.5	30.2	100
single, never married	16.4	18.0	6.0	1.3	9.5	48.9	100
divorced, separated, widowed	29.9	23.9	7.5	0.4	6.5	31.9	100
Woman's age							
18-25	10.8	14.3	7.1	4.2	8.4	55.3	100
26-30	18.5	20.5	11.7	5.6	5.3	38.4	100
31-35	23.0	25.0	13.7	4.3	3.7	30.3	100
36-40	29.3	27.0	14.7	1.6	3.2	24.2	100
41-50	35.7	27.7	13.5	0.3	2.7	20.1	100
Ethnicity							
White	27.0	26.2	13.8	2.6	3.6	26.8	100
Black carribbean,black african,other black	39.1	14.3	6.1	2.1	9.0	29.4	100
Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese	21.3	11.6	5.8	1.6	3.9	55.8	100
other	27.5	12.3	7.7	2.7	6.3	43.6	100
n/a	35.7	7.1	0.0	7.1	7.1	42.9	100
Number of children							
1 child	34.2	24.6	9.9	3.4	4.3	23.8	100
2 children	25.4	27.5	15.3	2.2	3.4	26.3	100
3 or more children	15.4	19.8	15.1	1.7	3.9	44.1	100
Age of youngest child							
0-2	15.4	18.5	10.9	8.9	3.6	42.7	100
3-5	21.0	24.8	16.1	0.4	4.5	33.2	100
6-9	26.8	29.8	15.7	0.2	4.5	23.0	100
10-17	40.3	27.3	11.6	0.0	3.2	17.5	100
Woman's education							
no/low education	14.8	19.4	12.5	0.9	4.8	47.7	100
medium education	26.5	27.6	14.2	2.7	4.0	25.0	100
high education	41.2	26.5	12.2	4.5	2.1	13.6	100
other education	26.1	20.5	11.2	1.4	5.1	35.8	100
n/a	30	17	7	2	4	39	100
Number of cases	16,216	14,967	7,884	1,537	2,303	17,149	60,056

Notes: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in Great Britain, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child under the age of 18 in the family. (3) Women without information on their employment status are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (5) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (II). Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Own calculations.

Description of sample B

Table A 4: Description of sample B for the analysis of maternal employment, western Germany, all mothers with children between age 3 and 17, row percentages

	Full-time	Long p-t	Short p-t	Unemployed	Inactive	Total
Calendar year						
1996	25.0	23.3	12.9	4.6	34.2	100
2000	24.5	25.5	17.4	4.1	28.4	100
2004	22.0	26.4	19.5	6.4	25.9	100
2008	23.2	27.5	22.1	5.7	21.5	100
Partnership status						
married	20.0	25.7	19.9	4.0	30.5	100
cohabiting	41.7	28.7	8.9	7.3	13.4	100
single, never married	42.2	22.7	7.7	12.4	14.9	100
divorced, separated, widowed	37.1	25.0	11.0	10.2	16.7	100
Woman's age						
18-25	22.0	13.0	13.4	12.0	39.5	100
26-30	20.5	18.4	16.6	9.0	35.5	100
31-35	20.9	23.8	19.1	6.3	29.9	100
36-40	22.9	27.3	18.9	4.6	26.4	100
41-50	26.2	27.0	17.1	4.2	25.7	100
Nationality						
German	23.8	27.4	18.4	4.7	25.7	100
Non-German	23.1	13.0	14.3	8.4	41.2	100
Size of place of residence						
<20,000	22.7	27.0	19.4	4.3	26.6	100
20,000-<500,000	23.1	24.9	17.9	5.5	28.6	100
500,000 or more	28.4	23.6	13.7	6.7	27.7	100
Number of children						
1 child	30.9	27.2	14.6	5.6	21.7	100
2 children	18.1	26.4	21.2	4.7	29.5	100
3 or more children	13.7	16.3	20.0	5.1	45.0	100
Age of youngest child						
3-5	15.9	21.7	18.7	6.3	37.4	100
6-9	19.4	25.9	20.2	5.3	29.2	100
10-17	30.2	27.5	16.1	4.6	21.6	100
Woman's education						
no/low education	19.1	15.2	16.6	7.9	41.2	100
medium education	23.1	29.2	19.5	4.5	23.8	100
high education	36.6	29.3	13.8	3.7	16.6	100
n/a	25.6	20.6	12.9	5.0	36.0	100
Number of cases	29,558	31,979	22,372	6,456	34,460	124,825

Notes: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence in western Germany, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child between the ages 3-17 in the family. (3) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Own calculations.

Table A 5: Description of sample B for the analysis of maternal employment, eastern Germany, all mothers with children between age 3 and 17, row percentages

	Full-time	Long p-t	Short p-t	Unem-ployed	Inactive	Total
Calendar year						
1996	68.2	7.4	1.5	17.5	5.3	100
2000	64.6	8.9	3.4	17.0	6.2	100
2004	58.6	10.2	5.7	19.8	5.8	100
2008	57.6	13.6	6.6	13.5	8.7	100
Partnership status						
married	64.9	10.5	3.6	14.8	6.2	100
cohabiting	64.6	7.3	3.5	19.4	5.3	100
single, never married	52.5	7.0	5.3	28.2	7.0	100
divorced, separated, widowed	59.6	6.8	4.2	22.5	7.0	100
Woman's age						
18-25	45.3	6.6	2.2	32.8	13.3	100
26-30	58.7	8.4	3.7	22.1	7.2	100
31-35	64.3	10.0	3.7	17.2	4.9	100
36-40	66.0	9.6	3.9	15.3	5.3	100
41-50	62.6	9.5	4.0	16.4	7.6	100
Nationality						
German	63.9	9.5	3.7	17.0	5.9	100
Non-German	30.8	6.0	8.3	29.6	25.3	100
Size of place of residence						
<20,000	63.1	9.4	3.8	17.8	5.9	100
20,000-<500,000	63.1	9.3	3.9	17.5	6.2	100
500,000 or more	65.5	10.4	3.7	12.4	8.1	100
Number of children						
1 child	66.5	8.9	3.6	15.7	5.4	100
2 children	61.8	10.5	3.8	17.7	6.4	100
3 or more children	39.3	10.0	5.9	30.4	14.4	100
Age of youngest child						
3-5	53.4	10.5	4.3	22.4	9.4	100
6-9	61.0	10.2	4.4	18.2	6.2	100
10-17	67.4	8.8	3.4	15.1	5.2	100
Woman's education						
no/low education	34.7	7.0	5.2	34.6	18.5	100
medium education	63.0	9.7	4.0	17.7	5.7	100
high education	78.7	9.7	2.3	5.8	3.5	100
n/a	61.9	8.1	3.0	18.2	8.8	100
Number of cases	19,731	2,949	1,186	5,359	1,940	31,165

Notes: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence in eastern Germany, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child between the ages 3-17 in the family. (3) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Own calculations.

Table A 6: Description of sample B for the analysis of maternal employment, Great Britain, all mothers with children between age 3 and 17, row percentages

	Full-time	Long p-t	Short p-t	Unem-ployed	Inactive	Total
Calendar year						
1996	28.9	24.8	16.6	4.6	25.2	100
2000	30.8	27.5	15.0	3.9	22.9	100
2004	32.0	29.3	13.0	3.3	22.4	100
2008	34.9	28.6	10.5	3.9	22.2	100
Partnership status						
married	32.1	29.0	16.7	2.4	19.9	100
cohabiting	35.8	25.9	10.9	4.5	22.9	100
single, never married	20.9	21.7	7.1	10.1	40.2	100
divorced, separated, widowed	32.4	24.8	8.0	6.7	28.1	100
Woman's age						
18-25	15.7	18.7	9.0	11.3	45.4	100
26-30	23.2	22.6	11.8	7.6	34.9	100
31-35	26.4	27.5	14.7	4.7	26.8	100
36-40	31.6	28.6	15.2	3.4	21.2	100
41-50	36.3	28.1	13.6	2.7	19.4	100
Ethnicity						
White	31.2	28.6	14.6	3.7	21.9	100
Black carribbean,black african,other black	45.9	15.4	6.5	9.1	23.1	100
Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese	26.2	13.7	6.9	4.4	48.8	100
other	33.5	14.5	8.9	8.1	35.1	100
missing	45.5	9.1	0.0	9.1	36.4	100
Number of children						
1 child	39.3	26.1	10.4	4.3	20.0	100
2 children	29.1	30.1	16.1	3.5	21.3	100
3 or more children	19.1	23.5	16.9	4.3	36.2	100
Age of youngest child						
3-5	21.1	24.9	16.2	4.6	33.4	100
6-9	26.8	29.9	15.7	4.5	23.1	100
10-17	40.3	27.3	11.6	3.2	17.5	100
Woman's education						
no/low education	17.5	22.2	13.9	5.0	41.5	100
medium education	31.4	30.7	14.9	4.0	19.1	100
high education	47.7	27.7	12.7	2.2	9.8	100
other education	30.7	23.8	12.7	5.3	27.5	100
n/a	36.4	20.1	6.7	5.3	31.6	100
Number of cases	13,693	11,947	6,100	1,713	10,152	43,605

Notes: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in Great Britain, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child between the ages 3-17 in the family. (3) Women without information on their employment status are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (5) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (II). Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Own calculations.

Description of sample C

Table A 7: Description of sample C for the analysis of maternal employment, western Germany, all mothers with children between age 3 and 17, and a partner, row percentages

	Full-time	Long p-t	Short p-t	Unem-ployed	Inactive	Total
Calendar year						
1996	22.7	23.6	13.7	3.8	36.2	100
2000	21.9	25.8	18.8	3.4	30.2	100
2004	19.2	26.6	21.2	5.1	27.9	100
2008	20.2	27.8	24.3	4.3	23.5	100
Partnership status						
married	19.9	25.7	19.9	4.0	30.5	100
cohabiting	41.7	28.8	8.9	7.2	13.4	100
Woman's age						
18-25 years	19.9	12.7	15.1	8.9	43.4	100
26-30 years	18.5	18.2	18.3	7.1	37.9	100
31-35 years	18.6	23.8	20.4	5.1	32.2	100
36-40 years	20.1	27.4	20.3	3.9	28.4	100
41-50 years	23.3	27.3	18.4	3.4	27.8	100
Nationality						
German	21.0	27.8	19.9	3.7	27.7	100
Non-German	21.6	12.6	14.9	7.3	43.6	100
Size of place of residence						
<20,000	20.4	27.0	20.5	3.7	28.4	100
20,000-<500,000	20.5	25.1	19.4	4.4	30.7	100
500,000 or more	24.8	24.5	15.2	5.1	30.4	100
Number of children						
1 child	27.3	28.1	16.3	4.3	24.0	100
2 children	16.8	26.4	22.2	3.9	30.7	100
3 or more children	13.1	16.2	20.4	4.4	45.9	100
Age of youngest child						
3-5 years	14.5	21.7	19.8	5.2	38.8	100
6-9 years	17.2	25.7	21.6	4.2	31.3	100
10-17 years	26.8	28.1	17.7	3.6	23.8	100
Woman's education						
No/low education	17.7	15.1	17.5	6.1	43.6	100
Medium education	20.1	29.3	21.1	3.7	25.9	100
High education	33.2	30.0	15.1	3.3	18.5	100
n/a	23.0	20.8	13.5	4.2	38.5	100
Partner's education						
No/low education	22.5	16.0	15.8	7.0	38.8	100
Medium education	20.3	27.6	20.7	3.9	27.4	100
High education	21.5	27.7	18.2	3.2	29.5	100
n/a	24.5	22.3	14.1	4.2	35.0	100
Relative education of the partners						
Both no/low education	19.9	12.8	15.1	7.3	44.9	100
Both medium education	20.4	30.0	21.3	3.5	24.7	100
Both high education	31.6	30.2	15.4	2.9	19.9	100
Man more highly educated than woman	15.5	21.3	20.1	4.4	38.8	100
Woman more highly educated than man	31.9	26.0	16.7	5.5	20.0	100
n/a	23.2	21.2	13.5	4.1	38.0	100
Partner's employment status						
Full-time employed	20.2	26.9	20.1	3.4	29.4	100
Part-time employed	33.9	22.8	16.4	5.5	21.5	100
Unemployed	23.2	13.0	11.4	19.8	32.6	100
Inacrive	31.9	14.3	8.7	5.4	39.7	100
Number of cases	22,227	27,317	20,408	4,405	31,336	105,693

Notes: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence in western Germany, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child between the ages 3-17 and a partner in the family. (3) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Own calculations.

Table A 8: Description of sample C for the analysis of maternal employment, eastern Germany, all mothers with children between age 3 and 17, and a partner, row percentages

	Full-time	Long p-t	Short p-t	Unem-ployed	Inactive	Total
Calendar year						
1996	69.0	7.8	1.5	16.4	5.2	100
2000	65.7	9.6	3.3	15.6	5.9	100
2004	60.4	11.1	5.5	17.0	6.0	100
2008	59.9	14.7	6.3	10.6	8.5	100
Partnership status						
married	64.9	10.5	3.6	14.8	6.2	100
cohabiting	64.6	7.3	3.5	19.4	5.3	100
Woman's age						
18-25 years	48.7	7.5	2.4	26.3	15.2	100
26-30 years	61.7	8.6	3.1	19.7	7.0	100
31-35 years	65.6	10.6	3.4	15.5	4.9	100
36-40 years	67.1	10.2	3.6	14.0	5.1	100
41-50 years	63.6	10.1	4.1	14.9	7.2	100
Nationality						
German	65.4	10.1	3.5	15.2	5.7	100
Non-German	30.4	6.0	7.5	29.6	26.5	100
Size of place of residence						
<20,000	64.2	9.9	3.6	16.5	5.9	100
20,000-<500,000	65.1	10.2	3.6	15.1	6.0	100
500,000 or more	68.2	10.9	3.3	9.9	7.8	100
Number of children						
1 child	68.1	9.5	3.3	13.8	5.3	100
2 children	63.4	10.9	3.7	15.9	6.2	100
3 or more children	41.4	10.8	6.0	28.9	12.9	100
Age of youngest child						
3-5 years	55.9	11.3	3.9	19.9	9.0	100
6-9 years	62.7	10.7	4.2	16.3	6.1	100
10-17 years	68.6	9.4	3.3	13.7	5.2	100
Woman's education						
No/low education	36.6	8.3	5.2	31.4	18.6	100
Medium education	64.4	10.2	3.8	16.1	5.6	100
High education	78.6	10.0	2.4	5.4	3.7	100
n/a	62.5	8.9	2.6	17.4	8.8	100
Partner's education						
No/low education	46.9	6.9	6.0	28.2	12.0	100
Medium education	64.0	10.0	3.8	16.5	5.8	100
High education	72.9	11.5	2.6	7.2	5.8	100
n/a	64.6	9.1	2.4	16.5	7.4	100
Relative education of the partners						
Both no/low education	38.1	7.0	5.0	32.9	17.0	100
Both medium education	64.1	10.0	3.8	16.6	5.5	100
Both high education	78.1	10.0	2.6	5.1	4.2	100
Man more highly educated than woman	59.6	11.7	3.5	15.0	10.3	100
Woman more highly educated than man	73.0	9.5	3.2	10.5	3.8	100
n/a	63.1	9.0	2.4	17.0	8.5	100
Partner's employment status						
Full-time employed	67.6	10.5	3.4	13.0	5.5	100
Part-time employed	48.1	12.2	14.4	18.8	6.6	100
Unemployed	44.9	6.6	4.2	37.2	7.2	100
Inacrive	56.1	5.8	3.4	16.6	18.0	100
Number of cases	16,334	2,534	909	3,888	1,526	25,191

Notes: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households at the family's place of residence in eastern Germany, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child between the ages 3-17 and a partner in the family. (3) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (II): Sources: SUFs of the German microcensus 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008. Own calculations.

Table A 9: Description of sample C for the analysis of maternal employment, Great Britain, all mothers with children between age 3 and 17, and a partner, row percentages

	Full-time	Long p-t	Short p-t	Unem-ployed	Inactive	Total
Calendar year						
1996	30.6	26.6	18.3	3.2	21.3	100
2000	32.4	28.9	16.5	2.5	19.7	100
2004	32.6	30.8	15.2	2.2	19.3	100
2008	35.6	29.3	12.8	2.3	20.0	100
Partnership status						
married	32.2	29.1	16.6	2.3	19.7	100
cohabiting	35.7	25.8	10.8	4.5	23.2	100
Woman's age						
18-25 years	21.7	19.6	11.6	9.8	37.3	100
26-30 years	27.2	24.0	14.3	5.0	29.5	100
31-35 years	27.9	28.8	17.2	3.3	22.8	100
36-40 years	32.1	29.7	17.1	2.3	18.8	100
41-50 years	36.0	29.1	15.2	1.9	17.9	100
Ethnicity						
White	32.4	29.9	16.7	2.5	18.5	100
Black carribbean,black african,other black	59.2	15.9	6.2	3.4	15.3	100
Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese	27.6	13.6	7.2	3.4	48.3	100
other	36.9	14.9	9.8	4.7	33.7	100
missing	37.5	0.0	0.0	12.5	50.0	100
Number of children						
1 child	41.9	27.3	11.9	2.5	16.5	100
2 children	29.9	31.4	18.0	2.3	18.4	100
3 or more children	20.5	24.8	18.9	3.5	32.2	100
Age of youngest child						
3-5 years	23.0	26.3	18.7	3.2	28.8	100
6-9 years	28.0	31.6	18.1	3.1	19.2	100
10-17 years	41.0	28.4	13.1	1.9	15.6	100
Woman's education						
No/low education	20.7	24.1	16.4	3.1	35.8	100
Medium education	31.6	31.6	17.1	2.6	17.1	100
High education	45.6	29.0	14.3	1.5	9.6	100
Other education	32.4	24.3	14.0	4.2	25.1	100
n/a	40.4	19.9	6.4	4.7	28.7	100
Partner's education						
No/low education	27.7	24.6	12.6	3.4	31.7	100
Medium education	33.2	30.8	17.1	2.3	16.6	100
High education	35.6	29.9	16.9	2.0	15.7	100
Other education	30.8	23.6	14.1	3.6	28.0	100
n/a	22.5	20.2	14.6	4.2	38.5	100
Relative education of the partners						
Both no/low education	18.4	19.2	11.9	3.4	47.2	100
Both medium education	32.1	32.5	17.6	2.4	15.4	100
Both high education	42.4	29.0	16.0	1.7	10.9	100
Man more highly educated than woman	25.3	30.1	18.8	2.5	23.3	100
Woman more highly educated than man	43.2	29.4	13.2	2.2	12.1	100
Other education	31.0	24.8	14.5	3.7	26.2	100
n/a	28.7	20.4	12.1	4.2	34.6	100
Partner's employment status						
Full-time employed	34.0	30.6	17.1	2.2	16.2	100
Part-time employed	32.8	24.8	10.7	3.7	27.9	100
Unemployed	18.6	15.1	9.8	11.8	44.8	100
Inacrive	19.2	12.2	6.0	2.7	60.0	100
Number of cases	10,251	9,050	5,037	809	6,335	31,482

Notes: (I). Sample: The sample consists of women between 18 and 50 years who (1) live in private households in Great Britain, and (2) are heads or partner of heads of a family and have at least 1 child between the ages 3-17 and a partner in the family. (3) Women without information on their employment status are excluded. (4) Women who are inactive and in education are excluded. (5) Women in same-sex partnerships are excluded. (II). Sources: Labour Force Survey household datasets 1997 (SN 5459), 2000 (SN 6036), 2004 (SN 5464), 2008 (SN 6034). Own calculations.

A.3 Appendix to chapter 7

Table A 10: Description of the sample for the analysis of fathers' use of parental leave in Germany, column percentages

	1999-2000	2001-2003	2004-2006	2007-2008	Total
Region					
Western Germany	88.8	88.0	86.6	85.8	87.4
Eastern Germany	11.2	12.0	13.4	14.2	12.6
Nationality					
German	86.7	86.7	86.5	85.3	86.4
Non-German	13.3	13.3	13.5	14.7	13.6
Size of place of residence					
less than 20,000 inhabitants	47.0	46.0	44.9	36.1	44.1
20,000-<500,000 inhabitants	41.0	41.3	41.9	47.9	42.6
500,000 or more inhabitants	12.0	12.7	13.2	15.9	13.3
Age in years					
18-25	5.4	5.5	4.9	4.7	5.2
26-30	22.3	18.4	17.8	17.5	18.9
31-35	39.2	37.3	32.9	31.0	35.3
36-40	23.4	27.2	30.2	29.9	27.7
41-50	9.6	11.5	14.2	17.0	12.8
Partnership status					
married	91.0	88.6	86.7	85.0	88.0
cohabiting	9.0	11.4	13.3	15.0	12.0
Education					
no degree	11.9	11.9	13.1	13.2	12.5
vocational degree	64.3	63.7	62.5	62.2	63.3
university	18.8	20.0	22.3	24.2	21.1
n/a	5.0	4.4	2.0	0.4	3.1
Number of children under age 6					
1 child	62.5	61.4	63.1	62.7	62.4
2 children	33.9	35.1	33.6	34.1	34.2
3 or more children	3.7	3.5	3.3	3.2	3.4
Age of youngest child in years					
0	35.2	34.5	33.6	35.3	34.6
1	34.5	34.7	35.2	34.7	34.8
2	30.3	30.8	31.2	30.0	30.6
Sex of youngest child					
1 boy	50.5	49.6	50.4	49.9	50.1
1 girl	47.7	48.5	47.7	48.3	48.1
Multiples	1.8	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.8
Type of contract					
temporary	7.2	6.8	7.7	8.1	7.4
permanent	80.3	80.5	79.0	78.1	79.6
self-employed	12.2	12.6	13.2	13.7	12.9
n/a	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2
Type of sector					
public	13.1	12.9	13.0	12.1	12.8
private	86.9	87.0	87.0	87.9	87.2
n/a	<0.1	<0.1	0.0	<0.1	<0.1
Relative education					
both no degree	8.0	7.6	8.5	7.8	8.0
both vocational degree	51.3	50.9	49.6	48.4	50.2
both university degree	8.4	9.2	11.3	12.7	10.3
woman < man	19.2	19.4	19.6	20.0	19.5
woman > man	6.5	7.1	8.5	10.5	8.0
n/a	6.5	5.8	2.6	0.6	4.1

Table A 10 (continued)

	1999-2000	2001-2003	2004-2006	2007-2008	Total
Partner's age					
18-25	13.3	13.1	12.5	11.6	12.7
26-30	32.7	28.2	27.9	28.8	29.2
31-35	37.4	37.7	35.2	33.1	36.1
36-40	14.0	18.0	20.6	21.8	18.5
41-50	2.6	3.0	3.7	4.8	3.4
Age difference between the partners					
Partner same age 0-1 year younger/older	29.9	30.3	28.5	28.2	29.3
Partner 2-6 years younger	46.4	44.7	44.9	45.0	45.2
Partner 7 or more years younger	14.0	14.9	17.0	17.7	15.8
Partner 2-6 years older	8.7	8.9	8.7	8.2	8.7
Partner 7 or more years older	1.0	1.3	0.9	1.0	1.0
Sample size					
Number of cases	20,477	28,753	25,152	16,730	91,112
Number of fathers on parental leave	92	145	143	185	565
Percent of fathers on parental leave	0.4	0.5	0.6	1.1	0.6

Source: SUFs of the German microcensus 1999-2008.

Notes: The sample consists of fathers who are head or partner of the head of a family, who are between age 18 and 50 and who live with at least one child below age three and a partner between age 18 and 50 in the family. Fathers in same-sex partnerships, single fathers as well as unemployed and inactive fathers are excluded.

Table A 11: Logistic regression models 2a-2c, odds ratios, dependent variable: using/not using parental leave, sensitivity analysis to model 1 (chapter 7), 2000, 2004, 2008

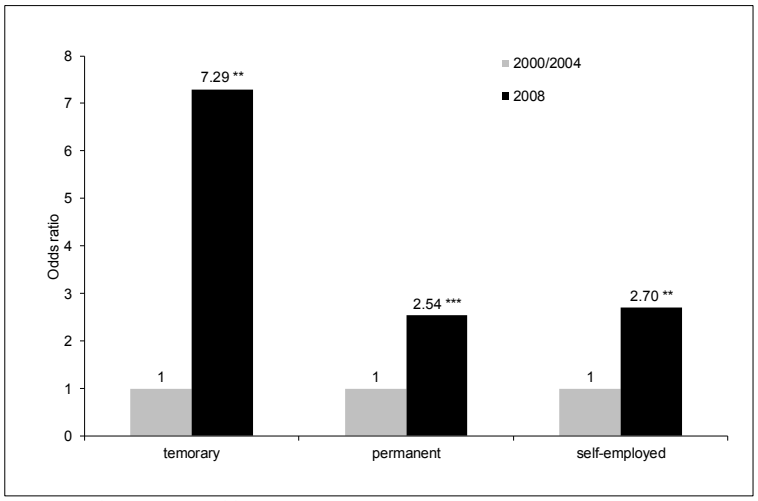
	Model 2a		Model 2b		Model 2c	
	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.
Year						
2000	0.91	n.s.	0.92	n.s.	0.92	n.s.
2004	1		1		1	
2008	2.69	***	2.55	***	2.60	***
Region						
Western Germany	1		1		1	
Eastern Germany	1.34	n.s.	1.33	n.s.	1.32	n.s.
Nationality						
German	1		1		1	
Non-German	0.84	n.s.	0.87	n.s.	0.87	n.s.
Size of place of residence						
less than 20,000 inhabitants	1		1		1	
20,000-<500,000 inhabitants	0.99	n.s.	0.99	n.s.	0.99	n.s.
500,000 or more inhabitants	1.30	n.s.	1.25	n.s.	1.26	n.s.
Age in years						
18-25	0.98	n.s.	1.54	n.s.	1.02	n.s.
26-30	0.80	n.s.	0.87	n.s.	0.81	n.s.
31-35	1		1		1	
36-40	0.89	n.s.	0.81	n.s.	0.91	n.s.
41-50	1.76	***	1.39	n.s.	1.93	***
Partnership status						
married	1		1		1	
cohabiting	1.16	n.s.	1.17	n.s.	1.16	n.s.
Education						
no degree	0.50	**				
vocational degree	1					
university	1.19	n.s.				
Number of children under age 6						
1 child	1		1		1	
2 children	0.68	**	0.68	**	0.68	**
3 or more children	0.94	n.s.	0.94	n.s.	0.93	n.s.
Age of youngest child in years						
0	1		1		1	
1	0.51	***	0.50	***	0.51	***
2	0.34	***	0.33	***	0.34	***
Sex of youngest child						
1 boy	1		1		1	
1 girl	0.90	n.s.	0.90	n.s.	0.90	n.s.
Multiples	1.03	n.s.	0.99	n.s.	1.00	n.s.
Type of contract						
temporary	0.49	**	0.48	**	0.48	**
permanent	1		1		1	
self-employed	0.77	n.s.	0.73	n.s.	0.73	n.s.
Type of sector						
public	1.87	***	1.80	***	1.82	***
private	1		1		1	
Relative education						
both no degree			0.16	**	0.15	***
both vocational degree			1		1	
both university degree			1.61	**	1.62	**
woman < man			0.74	n.s.	0.72	n.s.
woman > man			1.53	*	1.53	*

Table A 11 (continued)

	Model 2a		Model 2b		Model 2c	
	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.	Exp(B)	Sig.
Partner's age						
18-25			0.60	n.s.		
26-30			1.27	n.s.		
31-35			1			
36-40			1.48	*		
41-50			2.07	**		
Age difference between the partners						
Partner same age 0-1 year younger/older					1	
Partner 2-6 years younger					0.95	n.s.
Partner 7 or more years younger					0.78	n.s.
Partner 2-6 years older					1.10	n.s.
Partner 7 or more years older					0.57	n.s.
Model summary						
Log likelihood (starting model)	2424.7		2424.7		2424.7	
Log likelihood (final model)	2267.0		2233.1		2242.9	
Cox & Snell R^2	0.006		0.007		0.007	
Nagelkerke R^2	0.068		0.082		0.078	
Number of cases	27,363		27,363		27,363	
Number of fathers on parental leave	206		206		206	

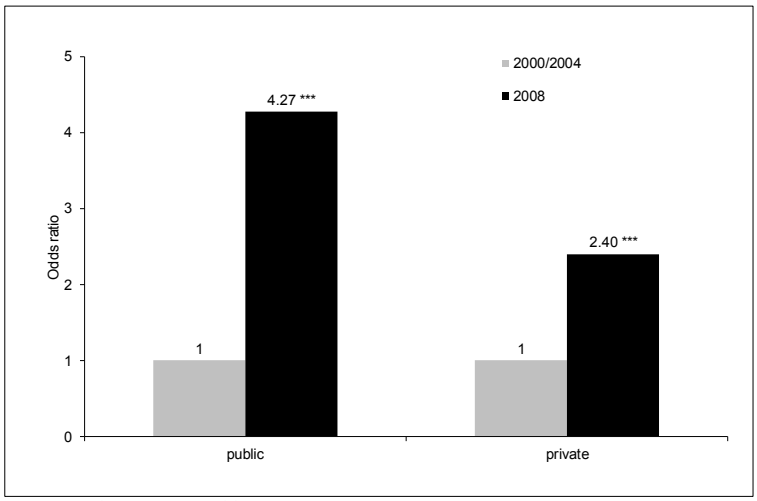
Source: SUFs of the German microcensus 2000, 2004, 2008.
Notes: The sample consists of fathers who are head or partner of the head of a family, who are between age 18 and 50 and who live with at least one child below age three and a partner between age 18 and 50 in the family. Fathers in same-sex partnerships, single fathers as well as unemployed and inactive fathers are excluded. * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.1; n.s. not significant

Figure A 1: Logistic regression models, odds ratios, dependent variable: using/not using parental leave, interaction effect of period and type of contract, 2000, 2004, 2008



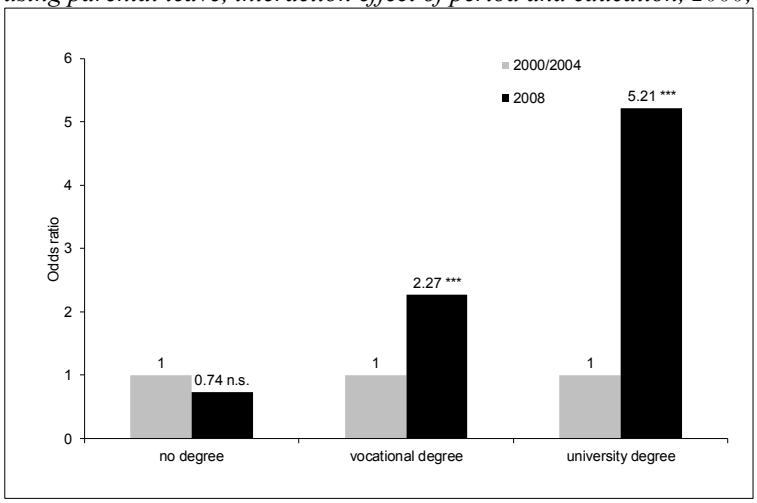
Source and notes: see Table 43.
Notes: The graph shows standardised result from separate regression models in which the years 200/2004 and the respective category of the type of contract have been used as reference categories. Controlled for: region, nationality, size of place of residence, age, partnership status, number of children below age 6, age of youngest child, sex of youngest child, type of sector, relative education, age difference between the partners.

Figure A 2: Logistic regression models, odds ratios, dependent variable: using/not using parental leave, interaction effect of period and type of sector, 2000, 2004, 2008



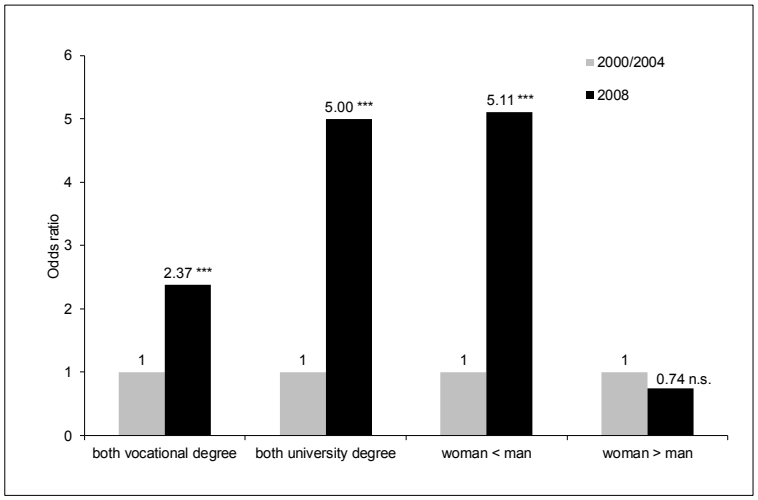
Source and notes: see Table 43.
The graph shows standardised result from separate regression models in which the years 2000/2004 and the respective category of the type ofsectort have been used as reference categories. Controlled for: region, nationality, size of place of residence, age, partnership status, number of children below age 6, age of youngest child, sex of youngest child, type of contract, relative education, age difference between the partners

Figure A 3: Logistic regression models, odds ratios, dependent variable: using/not using parental leave, interaction effect of period and education, 2000, 2004, 2008



Source and notes: see Table 43.
Notes: The graph shows standardised result from separate regression models in which the years 200/2004 and the respective category of the educational degree have been used as reference categories. Controlled for: region, nationality, size of place of residence, age, partnership status, number of children below age 6, age of youngest child, sex of youngest child, type of sector.

Figure A 4: Logistic regression models, odds ratios, dependent variable: using/not using parental leave, interaction effect of period and relative education, 2000, 2004, 2008



Source and notes: see Table 43.
Notes: The graph shows standardised result from separate regression models in which the years 200/2004 and the respective category of relative education have been used as reference categories. Controlled for: region, nationality, size of place of residence, age, partnership status, number of children below age 6, age of youngest child, sex of youngest child, type of sector type of contract, age difference between the partners.

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Ich erkläre hiermit, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit ohne unzulässige Hilfe Dritter und ohne Benutzung anderer als der angegebenen Hilfsmittel angefertigt habe; die aus fremden Quellen direkt oder indirekt übernommenen Gedanken sind als solche kenntlich gemacht.

Die Arbeit wurde bisher weder im Inland noch im Ausland in gleicher oder ähnlicher Form einer Prüfungsbehörde zur Erlangung eines akademischen Grades vorgelegt.

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